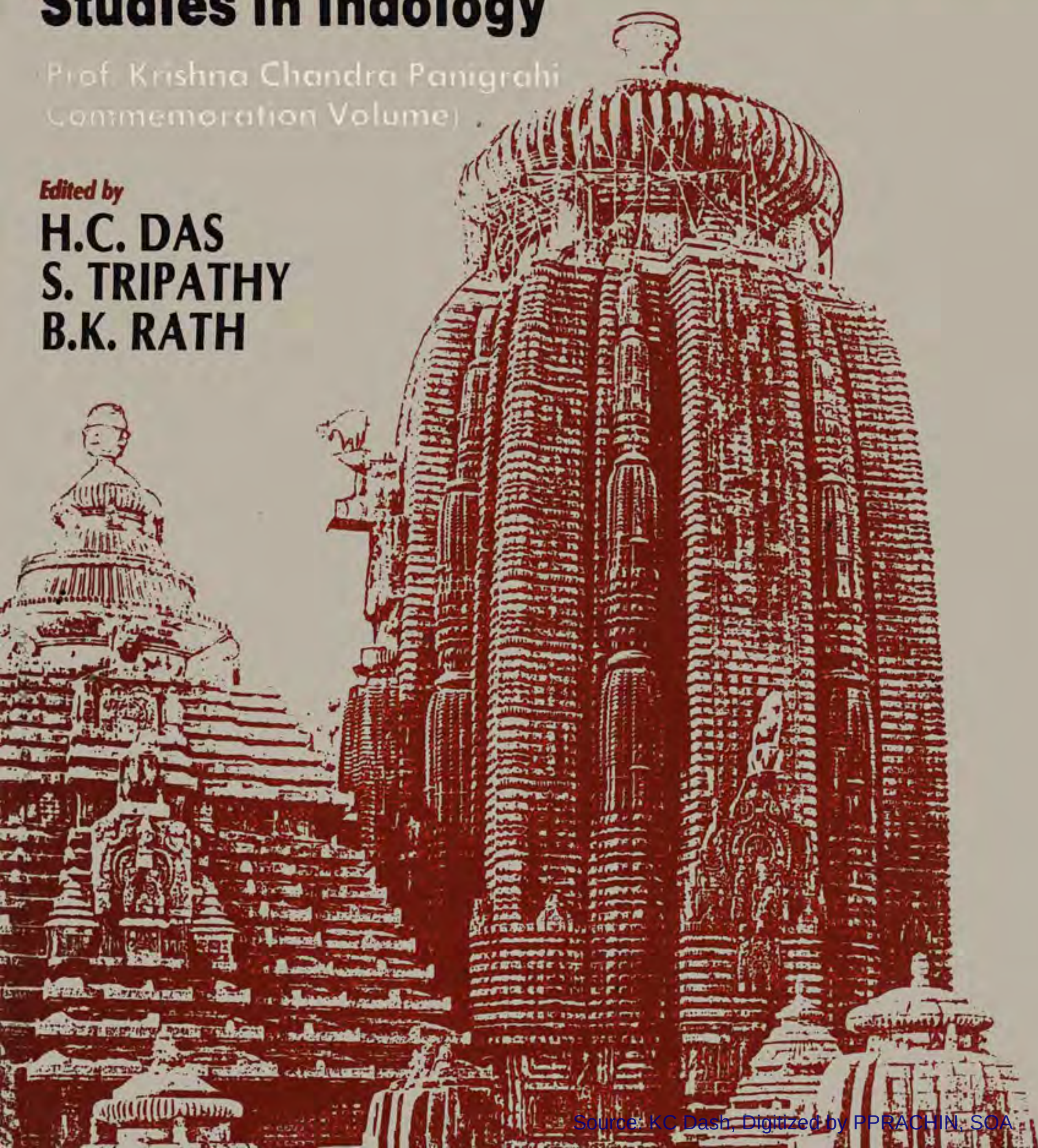
KṚṢṆA PRATIBHĀ

Studies in Indology

(Prof. Krishna Chandra Panigrahi
Commemoration Volume)

Edited by

H.C. DAS
S. TRIPATHY
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Professor Krishna Chandra Panigrahi
Born Khiching, 1909. Died : Cuttack, 25-2-1987



वेदानुद्धरते जगन्निवहंते भूगोल-मुद्‌विभ्रते
दैत्यान् दारयते बलिं छलयते क्षत्रक्षयं कुर्वते
पौलस्त्यं जयते हलं कलयते कारुण्यमातन्वते
म्लेच्छान् मूर्च्छयते दशाकृतिकृते कृष्णाय तुभ्यं नमः ।

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Volume I I

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Editors' Note

The present memorial volume 'Kṛṣṇa Pratibhā' is published as a mark of respect to the profound scholar, genuine archaeologist and eminent historian Prof. Krishna Chandra Panigrahi who passed away on 25th February, 1987 creating a vacuum in the Indological Research. As an exponent of ancient Indian history, culture and archaeology with multidimensional inter-disciplinary approach he made substantial contributions to the subjects. To him the study of epigraphy, numismatics, literary records and art and architecture were as significant as history. It was he who through systematic survey and study of archaeological data, historical facts and literary evidences resurrected several kings and dynasties, sites, monuments and sculptures from oblivion. In fact, he laid the strong foundation of archaeological research in Orissa incorporating his field knowledge gained in the excavations at Khiching, Nalanda, Rajgir, Nandangarh, Rajghat, Ahichhatra, Sisupalgarh etc. His long association with the Archaeological Department of the then Mayurbhanj State of Orissa, Archaeological Survey of India, with the Orissa State Museum, teaching in Department of History, Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, G.M. College, Sambalpur and Berhampur University earned him wide celebrity, esteem and honour as a pioneer archaeologist and historian.

A scholar-Professor is generally guided by the quality of the teaching imparted to his students, the standard research works produced by him and the research scholars successfully completing their research works under his guidance and supervision. Fortunately, Professor Panigrahi was endowed with all these qualities. He has left behind several books and a series of research papers of exceptionally high standard. His *magnum opus* 'Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar' got international recognition and was displayed in the International Book Exhibition at Frankfurt, Germany and accepted as a text book in the Oriental School of Art, London. We are

sure, this treatise will remain a standard book for years to come. He earned his popularity among the students and elites for the book 'History of Orissa'. Two of his Oriya books, 'Itihasa O Kimbadanti' and 'Sarala Sahityare Aitihasika Citra', an attempt to find out the historicity of legendary accounts, have proved to be indispensable reference books to the scholars carrying on research on the ancient and medieval history of Orissa. In recognition of his similar achievements in the literary field of Orissa he was honoured by the Orissa Sahitya Akademi.

The present volume containing 42 useful and scholarly articles, is divided into three sections, viz., (I) Archaeology, (II) History and (III) Culture. The first section contains 21 research papers covering pre-historic culture, sculptures, inscriptions and temples. The second section has 8 articles covering from ancient Indian history to tribal history. The third section deals with religious movements, *Silpasastras*, the temple chronicles etc. We feel the book will be of great help to the students and research scholars in the disciplines of history, archaeology and culture.

We are extremely grateful to the learned contributors who have made this volume scholarly and useful by their research papers. We deeply feel the sad loss of Dr. R.P. Mahapatra, our esteemed colleague and learned scholar, who contributed a scholarly paper for this volume, but could not live to see the printed volume.

Our thanks are due to Sri S.K. Pattnaik, for preparing some photographs for the volume.

Last but not the least, we are thankful to Sri A.P. Singhal of M/s. Sundeep Prakashan, New Delhi for taking up the publication of this volume.

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Bhubaneswar
Dated 1-11-1991

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Prof. Krishna Chandra Panigrahi
A Brief Life-Sketch

H.C. Das.

Dr. Krishna Chandra Panigrahi, our beloved Professor, Philosopher and Guide, and eminent historian, and archaeologist of international fame, a revivalist of Orissan culture bringing about a renaissance through his forceful writings, a man of unusual character marked for his suavity, honesty, dignity, simplicity and integrity, a sincere worker for the cause of culture and humanity, a pioneer literateur passed away silently at 7.50 P.M. on the 25th February, 1987, creating a vacuum in the scholarly world. Born in 1909 in an orthodox Brahmin family of Khiching in the District of Mayurbhanj, which is famous for the oldest capital of the Bhañja rulers and a centre of religious activities (Buddhism, Jainism, Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism flourished here under the royal patronage), imbibed the typical conservative character of Brahmin caste and simplicity and plain living of the tribals residing in and around Khiching.

His father, Sri Sagar Panigrahi and mother Saraswati Devi, who were original residents of Mugaguru village in Anandpur Sub-division of Keonjhar District, disposed of their paternal landed property at a cost of only three hundred rupees and permanently settled at Khiching. His parents were blessed with eleven children of whom Krishna Chandra was the ninth one. Religious-minded Sagar Babu was indifferent to the worldly affairs and was quite happy with the meagre income derived from the land and from the priestly work. He spent most of his time in reading various religious texts written in palm leaf manuscripts. On account of his scholarship and well-conversance in the sacred lore the Mahārājā of Mayurbhanj engaged him as the priest of Khiching temple and for his maintenance donated five *māṇa* of

Devottar land as *jagir.* The income from the temple and from the produce of the *jagir* land was adequate for maintaining his family. Sagar Babu could have possessed vast tract of land had he simply requested the mahārājā, but was never mindful to the economic prospertity. He was quite happy with what he got.

Though orthodox in temperament, he was eclectic in his attitude to caste system. The people of Teli caste living around Khiching were declared to have belonged to the clean caste community but were debarred from priestly services of the Brahmins. They were in many cases economically affluent, possessing the title of zamindars and thereby demanding sacred services from the Brahmins. On account of their high economic status they used to torture the reluctant Brahmins. It was about 1914-15, when a kinsman of Mahārāja family who was in charge of Religious Department of Mayurbhanj State, delivered a judgement that the Brahmins should act as the priests of the Telis. The orthodox Brahmins stood against the decree, but Sagar Panigrahi raised his voice in favour of the Telis and finally performed their sacred services. As a result, his family was ostracized from the Brahmin community. Having been tortured, the Brahmin Pandit Sagar Panigrahi left Khiching and lived in a small cottage in the village Kakharupana located about two miles away. The Brahmins designated the Panigrahi family as *Telibiṭāliā* and stopped all priestly works in his family. On account of this, he had to face a lot of trouble particularly in getting his sons and daughters married. Despite trials and tribulations he never bowed down before the caste bretheren, rather remained firm in his decision.

His pious father died in 1919 when Krishna Chandra was only 10 years old. In the same year his eldest brother Govinda died of war influenza. In the Śrāddha ceremonies the torture of the Brahmins was indescribable. As a result of the unusual situation created by the Brahmins the family members under compulsion had to observe funeral rites for two long months (instead of traditionally accepted 12 days). At last with the help of a beggar Brahmin of Dhenkanal the funeral ceremony was performed. The particular incident had a great imprint on the mind of child Krishna Chandra. Like his father he remained firm in his opinion and decision throughout his life.

Another incident of his childhood days that had a great impact on him, was the war influenza (1919) sweeping away innumerable lives. Many of his

family members succumbed to death due to this epidemic. It was at this time Krishna Chandra met various accidents. Stumbling down on a root of peepal tree he lost two milk teeth; his family horse once stuck him at his lips; a ***Bhumij*** boy plunged an arrow into his stomach; a peacock hurt his right nostril (the mark remained till his death). From all these incidents it can be well-imagined what a pathetic and difficult his boyhood was!

Krishna Chandra under these difficult circumstances started his schooling in traditional *Cāṭaśālis* run by the *Avadhānas.* Despite his schooling in traditional *Pāṭhśālās* for six years (from the age of five to eleven) he could not even pass the lower primary examination. The reasons are obvious. The *Cāṭaśālis* in those days were transitory in nature; the ill-paid *Avadhānas* did not stick to one *Cāṭaśāli* for a long time; the parents were indifferent in educating their children. However, he read in several *cāṭaśālis* till the age of eleven and was well-acquainted with the books like *Varṇabodha, Bālabodha, Śiśubodha, Cāṭaśāli-pāṭha, Pāṭiganita, Pasanda-Cudamani, Keśava-Koili, Vasanta-Koili, Vāramāsi-Koili, Bheṭā-cautiśā, Baulāgāi, Indrajāl-Kautuka* etc. and with various Sanskrit lores. Dr. Panigrahi has given a vivid description of the traditional *cāṭaśālis* in his book "Mo Samayara Oḍiśā". At home he availed the opportunity of learning the Sanskrit including *Pujā-paddhati, Śrāddha-paddhati, Vivāha-paddhati* etc. from his elder brother. From the very childhood he learnt many things which many of his classmates could not. The death of his father and elder brother brought unquoth misery on his family. He crossed the age of primary education. However, with great difficulty he was admitted in Sukruli (a village two miles from Khiching) Lower primary school on condition that he would cook food for the teacher. That also he could not manage. At last Mohan Sahu of Naupana village allowed him to stay in his house. He completed his lower primary course within one year but was not allowed to appear in the certificate examination as he did not complete full one year of schooling. His teacher Viswanath Naik attempted to get him admitted in the Karanjia M.E. School, but that was not possible. By that time he crossed the age of eleven and lost all hope in study.

His mother Sarasvati Devi was a pious lady; worked day and night at home and in the field for maintaining her family; one of her sons earned something from the temple services. Mother wanted to educate Krishna

Chandra and earn his living from a service. She could not live long to see the achievements of her beloved son.

At this time there came several offers to work as a Brahmin cook to which none of his family members agreed. He rather agreed to cook for the Head Pandit of Roruan U.P. School and read in the school. He stayed in the school for a day only and came back home. Leaving all hopes of study he engaged himself to graze the cattle of his family. In this way he spent fifteen years of his distorted life, when a sudden new opportunity changed the course of his life. Shyamsundar Das, a magnanimous teacher admitted him in the Roruan U.P. School and acted as his guardian. Because of his higher age he felt very ashamed in the class, but was happy when he came to know that many of his classmates were of his age. After prosecuting studies for 15 months in the Roruan U.P. School he was found fit to appear in the upper primary examination along with his classmates. In those days the Upper Primary Examination of the entire Mayurbhanj State was conducted at Baripada. In order to appear in the examination at Baripada he along with his teacher and classmates had to walk long 92 miles through the jungle road with food materials and books. This incident evidently indicates his tenacity and interest for studies. There was, of course, a narrow guage rail linking Baripada to Rupsa, and the fare was $7^1/_2$ *annas.* He was successful in the examination and was awarded a scholarship of Rs. 5/- per month for two years. With this scholarship money he continued his study in the M.E. school at Karanjia. To get admitted in this school was not an easy matter. He was considered to be very poor in English. On persuasion of the second teacher he was admitted in this school. Now onwards he continued his studies regularly without much problem. He passed the M.E. examination with great success receiving a scholarship of Rs. 7/- per month. In Matriculation examination he scored a good division with a scholarship of Rs. 20/- per month. Similarly in the Intermediate examination he proved his acumen and merit by securing a scholarship of Rs. 25/- per month.

He prosecuted his college studies (from Intermediate stage) in the Ravenshaw College, Cuttack and passed B.A. with second class honours in History in 1935. Dr. Panigrahi has given a vivid picture of his student life in the schools and colleges in his book "Mo Samayara Odiśā". In those days Ravenshaw College at Cuttack was the only college in Orissan part of the

Bihar-Orissa province. The number of students in this college was also meagre, the students lived very peacefully in the hostels. Dr. Panigrahi was staying in the East Hostel and during this period he associated himself with cultural and literary activities of Ravenshaw college and of other cultural organisations at Cuttack. In the beginning years he used to compose poems but later on switched over to writing research papers. The food in the hostel was excellent and the monthly expenditure in the hostel was Rs. 10/- or 12/-. During his student career the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj offered him a scholarship which along with his Government Scholarship money was quite adequate for his maintenance.

After graduation he planned to take up a Government job which in those days was very difficult. To get a government job like Sub-Deputy Magistrate or Deputy Magistrate was a matter of luck. The British Government laid down many restrictions in recruiting Indians to these posts. It was more restricted for the candidates from the Gadjat areas. Hence the only possibility left was a teachership in a High school.

It was at this time, he applied for a post of assistant teacher of a High school in Nayabasan Zamindari of Mayurbhanj State. Since he belonged to Khiching, the Maharaja, Pratap Chandra Bhanj Deo asked him to write an essay on the Archaeological remains at Khiching in English. The Dewan Sri Kshitish Chandra Neyogi and the Maharaja vere highly satisfied with the performance of Krishna Chandra and instead of offering a teacher's job awarded him a scholarship of Rs. 50/- per month for prosecuting M.A. in ancient Indian history and culture in the Calcutta University. During his study at Calcutta he acquired good knowledge in all branches of Archaeology and Geography.

During his stay at Calcutta in the Bengal Boarding (located at the crossing of Harrison Road and Amherst Street), he came in contact with Pandit Binayak Misra (who was also staying in the same boarding). He learned from him a lot of things which he utilised in his research work. Pandit Misra was a part-time lecturer in the Calcutta University. Initially a teacher in a M.E. school at Nilgiri with ordinary qualification of vernacular, Pandit Misra could elevate himself to the position of a lecturer drawing the attention of Prof. B.C. Mazumdar and several other scholars at Calcutta University. He

never read English in school but in later life he wrote research books and papers in English of very high standard. Krishna Chandra was greatly encouraged by him.

Even after his M.A. qualification, Krishna Chandra found it very difficult to get a job. At this critical juncture, Maharaja Pratap Chandra Bhanj Deo rendered his unstinted help by offering him a job of Research Assistant at a monthly remuneration of Rs. 70/- per month. His job was to assist the eminent Archaeologist R.P. Chanda in editing old records and archaeological remains. Krishna Chandra was very happy to have a job with high remuneration of Rs. 70/- per month and to come in contact with the archaeologist R.P. Chanda.

Much before his M.A. career Krishna Chandra married Taramani Devi, the youngest daughter of Bharat Chandra Panda of Chhelia village near Bedasahi of the Mayurbhanj District. Since the financial condition of his family was very pathetic at his village, he had to live with his wife in Calcutta and later on at other places.

While working with R.P. Chanda he was deputed to Delhi to receive training in Archaeology from the Archaeological Survey of India. During his training period the Maharaja donated him Rs. 75/- per month in the first year and Rs. 100/- per month in the second year. After obtaining training in the Archaeological Survey of India, he got a chance to work as an Archaeological scholar and continued in the same post till 1944. During his tenure as a scholar in the Archaeological Survey of India, he associated himself in the excavations at Nalanda, Rajgir and Nandangarh in Bihar; Rajghat near Benaras and at Panchmadi in Madhya Pradesh and Ahichhatra and availed the chance of visiting the museums at Calcutta, Nalanda, Patna, Benaras, Sarnath, Allahabad, Mathura, Lucknow, Delhi, Taxila etc. While working in the excavation camp at Ahichhatra he was entrusted to work on the excavated pottery. After three years of continuous research on the pottery he wrote a very big research paper and handed it over to the then Director General Kasinath Narayan Dikshit. The Director General was overwhelmed to see such a scholarly paper and congratulated him. His paper was a matter of discussion for about fifteen days among the galaxy of scholars. Having been highly pleased, the Director General wrote a long letter to the Director Public

Instruction, Orissa in 1943 suggesting to absorb him in a suitable post. The extract of the letter of Prof. Dikshit is attached here:

"Orissa has yet been unable to look after the collection that have been assembled or can still be gathered together from all ends of the Province. The main difficulty is the want of a proper qualified person appointed as a Curator of the Museum which has been accorded the status of the Provincial Museum by the Government of Orissa. If a new post of the Curator cannot be created in connection with the new University, it would at least be possible to bring into existence a post of a lecturer or professor in the University with the additional charge of the Museum. This would enable the scholar appointed to keep himself in touch with the teaching activities of the University in the ancient history and enlarge and look after the existing collections of the Museum. I sincerely hope that such an appointment be created from the very start.

Fortunately a suitable scholar with initial qualifications and subsequent adequate training is available for such an appointment. I refer to Mr. Krishna Chandra Panigrahi who passed his M.A. with Ancient Indian History in the Second Class in 1937 and has spent the last 6 years very usefully, first as a scholarship-holder from the Mayurbhanj State and then as a temporary employee of the Archaeological Department. Besides working in various investigations connected with the pre-historic and historic aspects of archaeology, Mr. Panigrahi has been able to make his contribution to a hitherto neglected line of Indian archaeology, viz., the study of Indian pottery. By working in the excavations at Ahichhatra which I have been carrying on for the last 3 years, he has been able to make original researches on the subject of the evolution of Indian pottery from the earliest times to the present day in which he has acquired for himself an unrivalled knowledge in this branch. He has also published articles on epigraphy and sculpture and he will be able to handle any problem connected with archaeology and museums. He has also worked before as a temporary Lecturer in History in the Ravenshaw College and is thus in every way suited for such work. Indeed, I feel that the special qualifications of Mr. Panigrahi entitle him to every consideration in the Utkal University which can hardly afford to engage a better qualified scholar whether from Orissa or outside. I shall be much obliged if you will kindly send me an acknowledgement of this letter and

inform me whether Mr. Panigrahi is likely to be absorbed in the capacity mentioned above in the Utkal University".

Krishna Chandra handed over a copy of this letter to the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj who instantly agreed to entrust him the administration of a region. On the auspicious *Gamhā Purṇamī (Rakṣābandhan)* day of 1945, the Maharaja offered him a Sanand in a special meeting of the Durbar announcing him to be in charge of administration of the Pandhaḍa-śāśan, located 18 miles away from Baripada. The total area of the Śāśan was 157 *māṇas* of land out of which an area of 35 *māṇas* was his *nijjot* land. In the later days Krishna Chandra disposed of the land for construction of his present building at Cuttack.

While at Delhi in 1943, one of his sons, aged 3 years died of typhoid. The bereaved mother left Delhi for ever. He was in a dilemma and was at a loss to decide what to do. Fortunately, he was appointed as a Lecturer of History in Sambalpur College in 1944 and continued there for about 3 years. The Director of Public Instruction then appointed him as Curator of the Provincial Museum at Cuttack which was finally shifted to Bhubaneswar in 1949. The Museum was first shifted to Brahmānandadhām of old Bhubaneswar, then to other places of the new capital and finally to the present State Museum building. He worked as Curator in the provincial Museum for about 2 years. The present Orissa State Museum owes him greatly. He toiled day and night in the collection of sculptures and other archaeological remains and displayed them in the Archaeology gallery. He collected as may as 200 sculptures and displayed them in the State Museum. It was during this time that he associated himself in the excavation of Sisupalgarh near Bhubaneswar and published a series of Oriya and English research papers and completed his famous book "Archaeological remains at Bhubaneswar". Later on he submitted this treatise to the Calcutta University and was awarded the D. Phil Degree. The book got international recognition. This was displayed in an international book exhibition at Frankfurt in West Germany which earned him name and fame as a scholar of international repute. Later on the book was acccepted as a text book in the Oriental School of Art, London and also selected as a reference book in many Indian Universities.

During his Museum service he worked with late P. Acharya, Archaeologist, S.N. Rajaguru, Epigraphist, late K.N. Mahapatra, Historian, Sri. S.C. De, Archivist and late B.V. Nath, Numismatist and Historian. Being independent-minded he did not like to continue in the Museum service and hence joined as Lecturer in the Ravenshaw College in 1951. It has been mentioned earlier that he had a chance to work with R.P. Chanda as a Research Assistant. Later on he systematised the records and published them in the form of a book "Political Status of the Feudatory States of Orissa and Chhatisgarh" which incurred him displeasure in the political circles. In 1954 he realised that the chance of promotion to Reader was far remote. In 1954 he again joined the Archaeological Survey of India and was posted in the Patna circle and continued till 1961. During this period he worked in many places of India. In 1957 he was promoted to the post of Circle Superintendent. His children continued their studies in Hindi medium. So he did not like to come back to Orissa. But in the A.S.I. he did not pull on well. After rendering seven years of service in the A.S.I. he was not confirmed in the post though many of his contemporary colleagues got confirmation orders; his administrative powers were curtailed; his staff were put to harassment, thus humiliating him to an unbearable extent.

Under the tense situation he thought of resigning from both the posts of Superintendent, A.S.I. and Lecturer, Government of Orissa and taking up some other new assignment. He applied for the post of the Director, Archaeology in M.P. Sri A. Ghose, the then Director General, A.S.I. who attended the Public Service Commission, M.P. as an expert rejected the case of Dr. Panigrahi on the ground that he would not spare his services from the A.S.I. He then decided to take up a job in any newly opened university and hence tendred his resignation from both the posts. The A.S.I. accepted his resignation but the Government of Orissa declined to accept the resignation. There was no other alternative but to come back to Orissa. He came back to Bhubaneswar wtih his wife and two daughters leaving the sons in their field of studies. At that time his eldest son was a student of I.I.T., Bombay while the younger one was that of Higher Secondary School at Bhopal. After a long interval he was posted as a Reader in History in the Ravenshaw College, where one of his junior colleagues was the Professor. Humiliated Dr. Panigrahi represented again and again to post him in the State Museum in the

Reader's pay scale. Ultimately he had to continue in the Ravenshaw College. Under the circumstances he lost his mental balance and discontinued his long habit of writing. It was at this time, Dr. D.C. Sircar who was the Government Epigraphist in the A.S.I, resigned the post on protest and accepted the post of Professor in the Calcutta University. However, Dr. Panigrahi continued in the post of Reader for a long time and was appointed as Professor of History in the G.M. College Sambalpur only 10 days before his retirement. After serving as Professor for 10 days he retired from Government service from the Ist August, 1968. One and half months after his retirement he became Professor of History in the Berhampur University and continued there for about four years and retired from that post on the Ist June, 1972. Since then he worked as U.G.C. Professor for a long time. He received Orissa Sahitya Academy award in 1983 and Padmasree title from the President of India in 1976. After his retirement from the Government and the University jobs he maintained his writing habit despite ill-health.

After his retirement, Prof. Panigrahi finally settled down at Saanta Sahi of Cuttack city till his death. He has clearly noted in his book that he was always indifferent to the family affairs and the entire work of the family was efficiently managed by his wife Taramani Devi. His eldest son Barenya Kumar, an electrical engineer, who took up independent business as profession unfortunately passed away in December, 1985. The youngest son Hiranya Kumar, a metallurgical engineer is now working as an engineer in Rourkela Steel plant. The sudden death of his eldest son was the greatest shock to the ailing father. Since then he was almost bedridden, suffering from diabetes and high blood pressure. He had to fight strongly with his diseases as he did in his chequered service career.

His contribution to the scholarly world is immense. Certainly he could have contributed more had he been given due recognition and proper opportunity. The valuable books and research papers contributed by him to the scholarly world have been appended in this book separately.

His death on the 25th February, 1987 is an irreparable loss to the scholarly world. His eventful life is a life of struggle against injustice, nepotism and parochialism. He was endowed with heavenly qualities, unusual in common man. He was all along upright in his view-point and firm in his

decision and eccentric in temperament never surrendering himself to the whim of others and at the same time amiable and affectionate to those who loved him. His life and activities are a great lesson to the scholars in his line. The publication, his life-story in the commemoration volume to be brought out as a mark of tribute to such a great personality will, I hope, be of much use to historians, archaeologists, art-historians, connoisseurs of sculptural art and scholars of other allied disciplines.

Professor Panigrahi
As I Knew Him

K. Mojumdar

I had known Professor K.C. Panigrahi for about thirty five years, first as his pupil, then as his colleague, and all along, like most others, as one of his ardent admirers.

We found him a conscientous teacher, punctual in coming to the class and never wasting a minute either in pleasantries or homilies. Himself very serious in his job, he could infuse in us the needed seriousness in studies. He dictated the lectures on history of Orissa, then a new but compulsory study, without any notes whatever, not even a slip of paper. We were struck by his phenomenal memory and the thorough preparation of the themes before coming to the class. He never told us that much of what he dictated to us were his own interpretation of many an issue, and as such his original contribution to the history of Orissa. He received his Ph.D. degree while we were his pupils, but he never told us about, far less bragging about the fact that he was the first historian of Orissa to have earned a Ph.D. in History. Humility was his natural trait.

He and I joined the History Department of Berhampur University together, and both were then unemployed, he having just retired from Orissa Educational Service, and I having resigned my job at Nagpur University four years earlier. For a few months we shared a house, with just a wall separating his part of the tenement from mine. We never discussed anything about the Department, not even the common problems we faced in it. I cooked food for myself and occasionally invited him to share it with me. Never he told me about his academic achievements although he would always freely dilate on

his academic interests. He was proud of his intimate association with great historians and archaeologists, Indian and Englishmen, some being his teachers at the University of Calcutta.

As Head of the Post-Graduate Departments of Berhampur University, he functioned very well, disposing off files quickly, guiding the staff effectively, never upbraiding any one and yet maintaining perfect order and discipline. He was indeed a father figure, so to speak, ever watchful to avoid a lapse and always considerate and understanding of others' problems. His office work was no excuse for dropping classes or not guiding research work. I worked *with* him, as a pupil, not *under* him, as a subordinate. He was formal and informal, depending on the existing situation and the nature of work at hand.

He left Berhampur University in 1972 but his fame as a scholar and his endearing manners were talked about till I left the University five years later. I never failed to see him whenever I went to Cuttack, although, as Mrs. Panigrahi sadly told me, his callers were few and far between. He studiedly maintained his accustomed reticence in respect of the many trouble he faced all his life; he never asked me about persons whom he knew well, made my life none too happy; he seemed to have followed the 18th century English adage, "Gentlemen discuss issues, servants talk about persons". Until a few years before he passed away, he kept regretting his inability to complete the work assigned to him by Berhampur University, although none seemed to have remainded him of his commitment. He frankly told me of his feeling of guilt in not being able to complete the assignment.

His last years were indeed tragic, but as ever, he did not tell me of his sorrows; he seemed to have firmly believed that private feelings were not for public display. He sat listless before me, occasionally a wry smile was the only response to all that I had asked him. But then, he would remind Mrs. Panigrahi that tea had not been served to me yet. I knew he was sinking fast.

The last time I had met him was just two weeks before he passed away. I got the news in a local daily at Nagpur. My first reaction to this tragic news was to see his picture intently for sometime—the picture which I have fondly preserved along with a few others' picture, the few, very few, indeed, whom I remember on occasions when I am very glad, and also when I am very sad.

Prof. K.C. Panigrahi
Tribute To A Teacher

Dr. B.K. Rath

It was in 1968 I first met this great personality. I was then a fifth year student of Post-Graduate Class in History of the Berhampur University. For the first time M.A. classes in History alongwith Political Science and Oriya had been started by the University. Teachers from the Khallikote College of Berhampur were teaching us in the beginning. Around October, 1968 regular recruitment to the posts of Professor, Reader and Lecturer were made. I remember, distinctly, one evening my uncle, Late G.C. Rath, who was then Registrar of the Berhampur University, told me that Dr. K.C. Panigrahi, a reputed scholar, had been appointed as Professor of History. I had no knowledge about Dr. Panigrahi and his achievements at that time.

Thus with trepidation in our heart we waited in the Department one day to receive Prof. Panigrahi. Dr. K.M. Mojumdar, who had then joined as Reader and who was a direct student of Prof. Panigrahi, had given us an introduction of Prof. Panigrahi. When we first met him I got the impression of a simple but very knowledgeable personality. Soon this was confirmed in the classroom. From the very beginning I was destined to be a privileged student of the Professor. In the class-room his teaching was absorbing and outside the class-room he was affectionate. This fact would be attested by the other students of the University at that time.

One thing which comes to my mind about his dedication as a teacher was that he once insisted upon with the University authorities for a field study grant for the students of the special group on history and culture of Orissa. Accordingly, we, two students came to Bhubaneswar for the study of art and

architecture. He took us around all the monuments of Bhubaneswar and that was the first occasion when I got attracted to art and architecture of Orissa and in later life I could understand his insistance for the importance of field study.

Prof. Panigrahi's contribution as a historian to the study of Orissan history is immense. His various works in English and Oriya are *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar, Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavaṁśis of Orissa, History of Orissa* (Hindu period), *Sārală Dasa Sārală Sahityare Aitihasika Citra* (Oriya), *Itihasa O Kimbadanti* (Oriya), *Prabandha Manasa* (Oriya) and *Mo Samayar Oḍiśā.* (Oriya). In addition he was the author of a large number of articles in English and Oriya. Some of his articles in English have been published in reputed historical research journals both inside and outside the country.

The most important thing to notice in his writings was his natural intuition of getting at the historial truth and scientific analysis. It would not be out of place here to cite two or three examples. In 1961 when he wrote on the chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavaṁśis he had identified Indraratha as a historical personality. This was confirmed later with the discovery of a copper plate charter of Indraratha from Banpur. Secondly, while writing his book on the archaeological remains at Bhubaneswar he had discussed the Raktavāhu tradition of Mādalāpāñji and said that it was nothing but a distorted version of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion of Orissa during the early Bhauma-Kara rule. This fact has been confirmed after the discovery of two copper plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa families in Orissa viz. Bargarh plates of Parachakrasalya and Deogaon plates of Mugdhagonḍaladeva. Thirdly, his fixation of chronologies of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavaṁśis in 1961 has stood the test of time even with the discovery of new evidences in later period. No doubt he used to tell us in the class room that one should try to arrive at the truth but nothing else on the basis of historical evidences.

This basic factor guided all his works and one can easily see that he was above any personal bias or regional fervour in all his writings on history of Orissa.

Another great quality of Prof. Panigrahi was that he was never rigid in his view points. He welcomed any attempt to reject his views on historical

facts with right arguments based on evidences. In my long association of 18 years with him as his student I have never heard him personally criticising any other scholar who was opposed to his views on certain facts of history. No doubt he believed in criticising the views of others in his writings but he never did it on personal level. He even encouraged his students to reject his theories in their respective research projects working under his guidance. This fact can be known from the works of his students where they have rejected his views on certain aspects.

In course of my career and contact with different archaeologists outside Orissa, I found that he was regarded as one of the greatest archaeologists of the time. Prof. Panigrahi was the first person in the country to initiate scientific study on ancient pottery. He wrote a paper on the ancient pottery for the first time during the excavation at Ahichhatra in Uttar Pradesh. In Orissa he was also the first person to initiate scientific study on iconography and architecture. Much was written on Orissan architecture before him and even now scholars are writing on his aspect. But Prof. Panigrahi for the first time in his masterpiece *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, classified Orissan temples on the basis of their architectural style.

He was equally prolific in his writings in Oriya. He has done commendable research in Sāralā Dāsa's *Mahābhāratā* and historical value of Mādalāpāñji and no doubt for his erudition in Oriya writing he was awarded by the Orissa Sahitya Academy in 1983. His latest work *History of Orissa* (Hindu period) is also a good work. I was closely associated in the publication of this work. Prof. Panigrahi would have completed the second part of his History of Orissa and History of Orissan Art, which was entrusted to him by the Berhampur University, but he could not fulfil this desire as old age and physical ailment did not allow him to do this service to our State. The long personal suffering in his life and the sad untimely demise of his eldest son a year ago made him totally bed-ridden and heart-broken.

All along his life Prof. Panigrahi lived a simple and humble life. He was never afraid to raise his voice for right cause and truth. He never bargained his position for favours. During my long association with him he was like a fatherly figure to me and at each step he had guided me in my research work and study. I can never forget his help and advice to me, whenever I sought

them. His sad demise was a personal loss to me. At various places and moments the mere saying of "I am a student of Prof. K.C. Panigrahi" has given me a sense of dignity and brought me help and encouragement from different quarters.

"*Gururbrahmā Guruviṣṇu Gurudeva Maheśvaraḥ*
Gurursākṣāt Parambrahmam tasmai Śrī Gurave namaḥ" ||

Calender of Events and Works of Prof. K.C. Panigrahi

Sri B. Samal

1909—Born at Khiching, Dist. Mayurbhanj, Orissa.

1931—Passed Matriculation Examination from Baripada High School, Mayurbhanj.

1935—Passed B.A. with Honours in History from Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.

1937—Passed M.A. in Ancient Indian History and Culture from Calcutta University.

1937-1944—Worked as Archaeological Scholar under the Archaeological Survey of India.

1944—Joined as Lecturer in History, G.M. College, Sambalpur, Orissa.

1947-1951—Worked as Curator, Provincial Museum, Orissa.

1951-1954—Functioned as Lecturer in History, Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.

1954—Awarded D. Phil degree from Calcutta University on the subject "Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar".

1954-1957—Functioned as Asst. Superintendent of Archaeology, Archaeological Survey of India.

1957-1961—Worked as Superintendent of Archaeology, Archaeological Survey of India.

1961-1968—Worked as Reader in History, Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.

1968—Functioned as Prof. of History, G.M. College, Sambalpur for 10 days only.

1968-1972—Worked as Prof, and Head of the P.G. Dept. ot History, Berhampur University, Orissa.

1975—Onwards—Functioned as U.G.C. Professor of History in Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.

1972—Received cash award of Rs. 1000/- from Prajatantra Prachara Samiti, Cuttack.

1975—Received Orissa Sahitya Akademi Felicitation.

1976—Awarded Padmasree by the President of India.

1983—Received Orissa Sahitya Academy award for his book entitled "Mo Samayara Orissa".

1987—February 25th, Expired at Sri Rama Chandra Bhanja Medical College Hospital, Cuttack.

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ANCIENT INDIA AND SOUTH-EAST ASIA : STUDY ON IMPACT AND INTER-RELATION

K.D. BAJPAI

While presiding over the 24th session of the South-East Asian section of the All India Oriental Conference held at Varanasi, I had welcomed the change of the section's old name Greater India to *South-East Asian Studies.* Regarding a new section on *West Asian Studies,* I had made a suggestion that it should include Central Asia, Iran and Afghanistan also, besides the reckoned Western Asian countries. I had also made a plea for the necessity of a separate section for *East Asian Studies.* The area to be covered under it would be China, including Tibet, Sinkiang, Mongolia, Korea, Japan, Tonkin and North Vietnam. The area of the South-East Asian Studies would then be clearly demarcated, including Ceylon, Burma, the Peninsula of Indo-China (excluding Tonkin and North Vietnam) and the islands known as East Indies.

The studies in the past history of South-East Asia during the long period of over a century have been amply rewarding. Thanks to the endeavours of a host of scholars, much valuable light has been thrown on the political and cultural history of the region. The cultural and commercial relations of India with its neighbouring countries of the south-east for a period of more than a thousand years are quite well known now. The previous theory of ancient India's "splendid isolation" has happily been exploded.

The sources for the study of South-East Asia are numerous indeed. Apart from the Indian, Chinese and other regional literary sources, the number of inscriptions, mostly written in Sanskrit, is pretty large. Similarly, the vast material in the form of ancient temples, stupas, monasteries and

sculptures, discovered in various parts of the vast area, has been immensely helpful for research. Recent archaeological explorations and excavations conducted in various parts of Ceylon, Malaya-Indo-China and Indonesia have shed welcome light on South-East Asia's past.

The archaeological researches in Malaya, Indo-China and Indonesia have brought forth some evidence to indicate that, before the advent of the Hindus to these lands, their original inhabitants had developed their own primitive way of life. Besides hunting and fishing, they knew the cultivation of land and produced sugarcane, bananas and other fruits and probably rice also. Domestication of animals was also known to them. They were good navigators and prepared boats of various types like the wooden houses which they built to live in. They also knew the use of iron and metals. They had a social and political set-up with their chiefs, who had taken up the responsibility to control and protect them.

Sufficient evidence is available now to show that after coming into contact with Indian culture, the inhabitants of several regions referred to above, learnt the advanced way of life as understood even in those early times. It is also noteworthy that, beginning from the first century A.D. to the early medieval times, there were several waves of immigrants from India, who from time to time settled in the south-eastern foreign lands. The early settlers hailed from Bengal, Kaliṅga and the southern coastal regions. Afterwards, people from Gujarat and Saurastra also made their long voyages to the south-eastern lands. The controversy regarding the superiority or dominant role of one particular region of India over the other in regard to the so-called colonization in South-East Asia is to be given up. It has to be remembered that, during the early centuries of the Christian era, the entire country was culturally *one integrated whole*, with a composite culture pervading almost the entire Indian Sub-continent.

Indian merchant class played the main role in the discovery and eventual colonization of several parts of South-East Asia. These traders were helped by the Kṣatriyas and the Brāhmaṇas alike. The Kṣatriyas (many of them disgruntled at home or too ambitious), must have been pursuaded by the Brāhmaṇas and the Vaisya traders to seek their fortunes in foreign lands. Even learned Brāhmaṇas did not lag behind the Śāstropajivī (living by arms) Kṣatriyas in this field. Like the latter, a section of the Brāhmaṇas might have

found the atmosphere of their home land rather uncongenial to them. Some of them were perhaps finding it quite difficult to depend on the *Śāstras* for their livelihood. They were probably led to believe that "hungry men cannot eat grammar, thirst cannot be quenched by the juice of poetry and by prosody alone nobody has been able to uplift his family; it is necessary to earn gold as all the qualities of a learned man are fruitless without money."[1]

The craze for the yellow metal and the prospects of a superior position in a foreign land must have led a good number of Brāhmaṇas to leave their kith and kin. Their *siddhayātrās* (proposeful journeys) were highly successful, because a large number of Indians settled themselves in the new colonized lands and did not think of coming back to their homeland. They married the local girls and adapted themselves to the local circumstances, earning the affection and goodwill of the local people. A contented household life, respect and dominating position in the society and the gaysome religious celebrations in the new lands were sufficient causes for their permanent settlement in far-off lands.

The Brāhmaṇas, more than any other class of the Indian settlers, worked with a missionary zeal to propagate Sanskrit language and Indian culture among the South-East Asian people. The other Indian sections had considerable faith and regard for the learning and generosity of the Brāhmaṇas and gave them all necessary help to propagate Indian culture. In the noble mission of cultural propagation the broad Hindu outlook followed was *Vasudh-aiva-kutumbakam* (the entire world is one family).

The respect for Indian language Sanskrit became so profound in Malaya early in the 6th century A.D. that a Malayan prince Bhagadatta in 515 A.D. wrote to his contemporary Chinese ruler thus, "the precious Sanskrit is generally well known in my land. The walls and palaces of my imposing cities are high and lofty as the mountain Gandhamādana".[2]

It has been presumed by some scholars that Buddhism which had evolved in India, had the upper hand in major areas of South-East Asia and that "the aristocratic Brāhmaṇism" failed to carry conviction among the masses. This view does not seem to commend itself. It may be remembered that during the Suṅga-Sātavāhana rule the Vedic religion, in the form of its several developed faiths (particularly Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, Śaktism and the Saura cult) was considerably popular in the North and South India. This fact

is borne out by the contemporary literary and epigraphic sources. It is corroborated by a large number of monumental remains, relics of art, coins, seals and sealings. Side by side the Vedic cults, the Buddhist and Jaina pantheons developed in India in an atmosphere of goodwill and toleration.

The early relics, discovered in various parts of Burma, Malaya, Indo-China and Indonesia undoubtedly indicate that it was the Vedic-Puranic religion, in the form of the above mentioned faiths, which was predominent in South-East Asian countries almost from the beginning of the Christian era. Numerous temples and statues of Vedic-Puranic deities, found in almost all the parts of South-East Asia, depiction of scenes from the Indian epics, inscriptional and literary evidences and the Vedic sacrificial posts (*yūpas*), discovered in Borneo and other islands constitute an eloquent testimony to prove the above statement.

Kālidāsa, the great Indian poet, alludes to the installation of Vedic *yūpas* in the 'eighteen islands' of the region.[3] Kings of Kāmbuja (ancient Campuchia), Fu-nam, Champa, Borneo and other kingdoms seem to have vied with each other performing Vedic yajnas. As in India, so also in the South-East Asia worship of Śiva became very popular. Temples of Śiva with his various local names, such as Bhadreśvaraswāmi, Caṇḍeśvara, Randaparvateśvara, were constructed. Festivals were held in these temples with great pomp and show, and they were attended not only by the large local populace but also by a good number of persons visiting those lands from far off places. Some of the new towns, founded in Kāmbuja, bore the names Bhavapura, Iśānapura, Ugrapura etc. Worship of Viṣṇu, Surya, Gaṇeśa and Devī was also quite popular. Looking to this and bearing in mind the fact that the Vedic-Puranic religion had a great appeal among the foreign masses and was adopted by them in their popular beliefs and rituals for centuries together, the theory of the limited impact of the so-called 'aristocratic Bāhmaṇism' on the masses has to be given up.

Buddhism did play its role. The literary and archaeological evidence is a proof positive to indicate the popularity of Buddhism not only in Ceylon, ~rma and Malaya but also in Indo-China and Indonesia. The rulers of ~īpa (Ceylon), Burma and Śrīvijaya made incessant efforts to ~uddhism.

It is a significant fact that there was a continuous spirit of amity and toleration among the followers of the Vedic-Puranic faiths and the Buddhists in South-East Asia. This atmosphere was responsible for the mutual development of their different sects smoothly outside India.

No plausible evidence has been obtained to indicate that Buddhism had an upper hand over the Vedic religion or that there was any rivalry between the two.

Scholars from Central Asia, China and Tibet visited India to quench their thirst in different higher branches of learning. They visited Indian centres, such as Varanasi, Nalanda and Vikramaśilā. Indian scholars also paid visits to foreign lands. The example of Atisa Dipaṅkara can be cited in this respect. In the 11th century A.D. he left Vikramaśila for Suvarṇadvīpa to meet the renowned Buddhist scholar Dharmakīrti to learn at his feet. Dr. B.R. Chatterji has shown as to how, after his return from Suvarṇadvīpa, Dipaṅkara visited western Tibet *via* Nepal, after covering a long and difficult hilly track. The Śailendra rulers of Śrīvijaya, the Pālas of eastern India, the rulers of Ceylon and of western Tibet were patrons of Buddhism and paid their respect to all scholars, irrespective of their nationality.

One of the Kāmbuja inscriptions, incised on a big stone slab of Phimanakas (Face DK 485), eulogizes Indradevī, the learned queen of king Jayavarman VII of Kāmbuja as an ideal teacher. It is said about her that she used to give regular lessons to ladies in the palace and in the temples.[5]

A critical and comparative study of the rich Sanskrit and Prakrit languages and literature, obtained in a variety of records in Sri Lanka, Burma, Indo-China and Indonesia is still a desideratum. The Mon-Khmer and Cam group of languages particularly require a thorough study. The work so far done by the Dutch, French and Indian scholars in this connection has been very fruitful. The International Academy of Indian Culture at New Delhi, which has already done some appreciable work in this field, deserves encouragement.

The study of the historical geography of the region is equally important. In ancient Indian literature reference to the ocean-girdled countries of the south-eastern Asia are found in the terms *dvīpāntara, Sāgarāntara-dvīpa, aṣṭādaśa-dvīpa*, etc. After the Indian cultural contacts were established there several big and small kingdoms, bore Indian names. They are Kāmbuja,

Gāndhāra, Mālava, Daśārṇa, Śrīkṣetra, Kaliṅga, Utkala, Vaṅga, etc. The names of some of the towns in this area were Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Vaiśālī, Takṣaśilā, Kausāmbi, Kusuma-nagara, Dvārāvatī, Vikramapura and Amarāvatī. Some of the rivers of this region bore the names of Gomatī, Sarasvatī, Irāvatī, Candrabhāgā and the like.

It is necessary to examine the sources and the historical processes evolving the above and other geographical names. Equally important is the correct location of some of the geographical names, occurring in literature and inscriptions. It may be pointed out here that some of the names of the Vedic Sapta-Saindhava region and the contiguous areas were gradually adopted in Madhyadeśa and further in several other parts of the country. This process was continued in the South-East Asia. Several of the new settlements in Malaya, Indo-China and Indonesia derived their names from the original Indian *janapadas* or towns from where the new settlers had migrated. References to such Indian places are found in the inscriptions and literature of South-East Asia.

An example in this connection may be cited here. Some time back, I tried to show, on the basis of some reliable evidence that there was a *janapada* called Vaṅga on the Makran coast of Baluchistan.[6] It is possible that the well known eastern Vaṅga (Bengal) derived its name from the western one. Later on, when the people of Bengal colonized some parts of Malaya, they named one of the colonies near modern Patani on the eastern Malaya coast as Vaṅga (*Laṅgga* or *Laṅgkasuka* of the Chinese records).

Indian river names were also adopted for several of the rivers outside India. Some of the rulers of Indo-China and Indonesia founded new towns in their countries either after the names of the Vedic-Purāṇic deities or after their own Indianized names.

The name *Raktamṛttikā*, occurring in the well known Brāhmī inscription of the great navigator (*mahānāvika*) Buddhagupta, discovered in the northern district of Malaya, baffled correct identification. The excavations by the University of Calcutta at the village Rājbāḍiḍāṅgā, district Murshidabad, have yielded a large number of inscribed clay seals and sealings. Several of the sealings bear the Buddhist *dharmacakra*, the symbol of Jetavana, and a Brāhmī inscription. The inscription reads, *Śrī-Raktamṛttikā*- mahāvaihārik-ārya-bhikṣu-saṅghasya (i.e. 'seal of the celebrated *Bhikṣu-saṅgha* of the great

monastery of Raktamṛttikā). The Brāhmī script of these sealings is of about 400 A.D. and tallies well with the inscription of the *Mahānāvika* Buddhagupta in point of time. There is no doubt now to identify Raktamṛttikā of the Malaya inscription with Rājbāḍiḍāṅgā, where the old town and the great *vihāra* of Raktamṛttikā (now called Rāṅgāmāṭi)[7] existed. Buddhagupta a resident of this place in Bengal had gone to Malaya, where, after the completion of his *siddha-yātrā*, he dedicated a stone tablet, bearing the symbol of a Buddhist *stupa* and the text of a Buddhist *sūtra*.

Like the literary evidence, the architectural and sculptural material in South-East Asia is amply rich. A good deal of work has already been done in this field, but much still remains to be accomplished. The archaeological explorations and excavations in several parts of this vast region have brought forth interesting new material and, along with it, some new problems. A comparative and detailed study of South-East Asian art, particularly with reference to iconography, is still needed. The study of ancient architecture of this region on the basis of the *Śilpa* texts and a comparison with the extant Indian monuments is indeed a necessity.

The Archaeological Survey of India has done some praise worthy work in Egypt, Afghanistan and Nepal. For sometime past it has been devoting a section to the archaeology of its neighbouring countries in its periodical *Indian Archaeology - A Review*. Due attention to the South-East Asian Archaeology has to be paid now.

Several good bibliographies have recently been published on South-East Asian studies. Professor Himansu Bhusan Sarkar has given a detailed list of the South-East Asian Studies in India in the publication entitled 'Oriental Studies in India' (brought out on the occasion of the 26th International Congress of Orientalists held in New Delhi). The number of scholars working in this field is not adequate. A good number of devoted workers, with sufficient knowledge of the necessary original sources is needed. The Indian Council of Historical Research can also help in this direction.

Two distinguished Indian scholars, Prof. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar and Prof. K.A. Nilkanta Sastri, like the two great early Kaundinyas, have already enlightened our path for work on the South-East Asian studies. It is now up to us to rise to the occasion and come in closer contact with this region. This should not be for the sake of the yellow metal, and certainly not

for any idea of colonization, but for an intimate understanding of the cultural links which happily bound our country in the past with this region for over a thousand years. The inter-relations between India and South-East Asia are to be strengthened more and more for a correct appraisal of our great common cultural heritage.

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   न छन्दसा केनचिदुद्धृतं कुलं, हिरण्यमेवार्जय निष्फला गुणाः।।
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   महिमृताध्यापकसत्तमहिता करोत्कृत्वाध्ययनं सदाप्यपात्।।"
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JAUGAḌA : A GLORIOUS ANTIQUARIAN HERITAGE OF SOUTH ORISSA

DANDAPANI BEHERA

Jaugaḍa, the glorious site of a rich antiquarian heritage is strategically situated at a place, 4 kms away from the town of Purushottampur in Ganjam district in South Orissa. At the head of Jaugaḍa (lac fort) there stands an Aśokan inscription on a wall-like rock of a hillock. This is one of the two famous Kaliṅga Edicts of emperor Aśoka specially issued to his *mahāmātras* or the administrators posted in the conquered and occupied Kaliṅga. One set of the Edicts was inscribed at Dhauli near Tosali, the administrative headquarters of the northern division of Kaliṅga, and the other set at Jaugaḍa near Samāpā, the headquarters of the southern division of Kaliṅga. Samāpā was a greatly flourishing town in the southern Kaliṅga during Aśoka's time, famous then, as a centre of trade and culture, situated on the bank of the sacred river Ṛṣikulyā, which is presently identified with the nearby village of Samma by some Orissan scholars and with Sompetta town in Andhra Pradesh by some Andhra scholars presumably on the ground of Kaliṅga's extension from the river Gaṇges on the north to the river Godāvarī on the south.[1]

The Edict at Jaugaḍa was addressed to the *mahāmātras* stationed at Samāpā as guide line to them in their administration of the southern half of Kaliṅga, particularly with regard to its tribal population. Aśoka instructed his officers in the edict to govern the people with much compassion, sympathy and humanism presumably because they had been subjected to unnecessary sufferings for no fault of theirs.[2]

The Edict is written in the Prakrit language and in the Brahmi script, on the three different tablets on the vertical face of the rock standing at the head of the fort remains of which are now hardly visible.[3]

The fort was perhaps named as Jaugaḍa after the name of the place called 'Jagata' on which it stood then. According to a legend the fort was called Jaugaḍa (lac fort) since it was made of lac from the time immemorial.[4]

The late J.D. Beglar, well known archaeologist visited Jaugaḍa in between 1874 and 1880 and first brought it into historical limelight by highlighting its historical and mythological importance in the correct perspective. Since then it became known in the historical and archaeological map of the country and the world.[5]

According to a popular legend the fort was built by a king named Rājakeśari, with its walls made of *Jau* or lac instead of bricks or other materials so that the enemy's cannon balls could not penetrate through and thereby no damage could be done to the fort. The king did this so as to defend his fort well from any attack of his sworn enemy, the king of the nearby Rawalpilli hill.

Subsequently the latter attacked and besieged the former's fort for some time without achieving any success. This way the time passed on and finally, the attacker got the clue from a milk woman, that the fort was built of lac and this resultantly impelled him and his men to apply fire to the fort causing its total damage and destruction.[6]

But the archaeologist narrated a different version of the story in his letter addressed to the government of Madras, on 26th August, 1872, stating that after the destruction of the fort, its king Rājakeśari pronounced a curse on the milk woman turning her into a stone or a statute, locally called a 'Sati pillar' as seen by him at the southern gate of the fort then. But now, no remains of the same are visible.

A British officer of Chatrapur was said to have collected a huge quantity of copper coins at the bottom of the said 'Sati pillar' in 1853, which have been identified with the Kuṣāṇa coins belonging to the 1st century A.D. This fact suggests that Ganjâm was perhaps also under the rule of the Kuṣāṇas during the 1st century A.D., and similar coins were also discovered from places like Puri, Cuttack, Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar in Orissa indicating the Kuṣāṇa supremacy in these regions for some time.[7]

Thus, althrough the ages, the site of the fort, crowned with an Aśokan edict, has been standing at its own place, being badly mutilated by the ravages of time as well as of men, as mute spectator of what has been happening with the mankind despite the ever lasting messages of human love, compassion and understanding amply reflected through her own being. No doubt, it has been a rich store house of rare antiquarian glories sufficiently high-lighting the cultural greatness of the region and the country as well.[8]

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24

ORIGIN OF THE NALAS

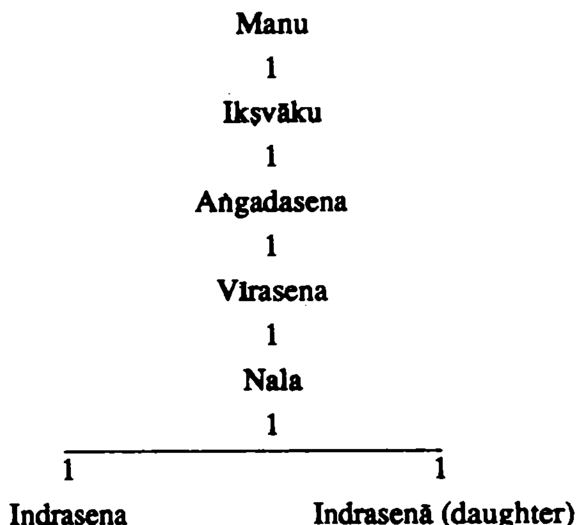
C.B. PATEL

The Nala dynasty ruled over parts of Orissa and Madhya Pradesh in the upper reaches of the Mahānadī valley in the wider hilly hinter region of central eastern India from the later part of the 3rd century A.D. down to the 10th century with their capital at Puṣkarī. Emerging from the autochthonous tribal non-Aryan population, the Nalas provide an excellent example of early state formation and present an exuberant epochal annal of efflorent cultural culmination casting its shadow in this part till the present day. Their origin shrouded in mystery is attempted here from the garnered source materials of different schools.

Mythological origin :

There is no definite account or evidence of their origin or ancestry either in their records or in other literature. From the Purāṇas[1] it is known that the descendants of the king Nala ruled over Nisadha. Interestingly, historical Nala kings claim their origin from the epic Nala in their records. In the Rithapur grant[2] of Bhavadatta, we find the expression "*Nala-nṛpa-vaṁśa-prasūtaḥ*", in the Kesaribeda grant[3] of Arthapati, "*Nala-nṛpati-kul-ānvayaḥ*", in the Poḍāgaḍa stone inscription of Skandavarman[4], we have "*Nal-ānvayamukasya*"; in the Rajim stone inscription of Vilāsatuṅga[5] "*Khyatonoponala*" and in the Pandia Pathar grant[6] of *Mahārājādhirāja* Bhimasena, we find "*Nala-vaṁśodbhava-kula-kamalāṅka.*" From these expressions it is obvious that these kings who trace their pedigree from the epic Nala belong to the Nala dynasty. But we do not get a genealogical list anywhere to connect the historical Nala kings with their progenitor the epic

Nala. From the Purāṇic evidence we get the following genealogy of the family of the epic Nala :



According to the Matsya Purāṇa and Harivaṁśa they belong to the Solar race, but in the *Mahābhārata* they are ascribed to the Lunar race.[7] It is also stated in the Matsya Purāṇa that they are of a Kṣatriya clan in the lineage of Ikṣvāku, the son of Manu.[8] As there is no connecting link between the mythological Nala line and the historical Nala rulers, it is difficult to accept their mythological origin in the present state of our knowledge.

Indigenous origin :

It seems very probable that the Nalas originated locally, sometime in the second half of the 3rd century A.D. from a local non-Aryan tribe. As regards their emergence, we get a frail and indirect reference in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*.[9] While narrating the origin of the Vākāṭakas, a place named Purika finds mention in it which G. Ramdas[10] is inclined to identify with Puṣkarī or the modern Poḍāgaḍa, situated in the Koraput district of Orissa, as the capital of the Nalas.[11] There is difference of opinion among scholars as to whether Purika was the early capital of the Vākāṭakas or the Nalas. Altekar[12] is of the opinion that "Purika situated somewhere in Berar, in the western side of the Central Provinces, was the earliest Vākāṭaka capital as mentioned in the

Purāṇas. Later on it was shifted to Nandivardhana near Ramtek, about 13 miles north of Nagpur". D.C. Sircar writes, "Vindhyaśakti is mentioned in association with a people called the 'Kilakilas' who are styled Yavanas or Vrsas in the Purāṇa and may have been foreigners related to the Sakas of Western India and also with the Nāga kings of Vidiśā of East Malwa. Pravīra is said to have ruled at the city called Kāñcanaka and performed a number of *Vājimedha* or *Vājapeya* sacrifices. Curiously, however, Vindhyaśakti is mentioned after the Kilakilas, the Nāgas of Vidiśā and other rulers are mentioned between Vindhyaśakti and his son and the relation between Pravīra and the king of Purika called Śiśuka mentioned immediately before him is not specified".[13] However, it is apparent that Śiśuka was the king of Purika and Pravīra was the king of Kāñcanaka or Canaka and Purika and Kāñcanaka or Canaka are not one and the same place. The early Vākaṭakas under Pravīra ruled in Canaka while the King Śiśuka ruled from Purika which is very probably the same as Puṣkarī, the capital of the Nalas.

Due to want of definite evidence we cannot say with certainty if Śiśuka was a Nala king. If we are to accept the view of G. Ramdas, Śiśuka the contemporary of Pravīra mentioned in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, was a Nala king. In this connection he writes, "the bull emblem on the coins and the phraseology on the coins of the Vākāṭakas and the copper plate charters of the Nala kings lead me to suspect that both the families lived together at first and were then separated to different places for strategic purpose, the Nalas remaining in the original place and the Vākāṭakas founding Canaka. In such a case, Purika must have been the vernacular form of Puṣkari".[14] The Kilakilas mentioned in the Purāṇas may be identified with the Karkoṭaka Nāga family of Nisadha region whose king was a friend of the epic king Nala. In the same work they are styled as *Yavanas* or *Vṛsas* and related to the Śakas and the Nāgas.[15] However, as pointed out by Sircar, "it is difficult to determine the precise meaning or authenticity of these Purāṇic details about the Vākāṭakas".[16] Therefore we cannot say definitely anything about the origin of the Nalas on the evidence of the Purāṇas as well. But from the discussion, certain important points on their origin, could be convincingly drawn which also help us in fixing their early chronology.

As we know the period during the 3rd century A.D. was obscure in the spectrum of Indian history. The imperial authorities of the Sātavāhanas and

the Kuṣāṇas had sunken low and petty chieftains of the indigenous stock availed opportunity to establish new kingdoms. The Vākāṭakas and the Nalas perhaps at this juncture emerged in the same region and in the same epoch in the trans-Vindhyan area. Other indigenous princes like the Nāgas also rose in other places. Thus, the contemporaneity of the origin of the Vākāṭakas and the Nalas is very probable. According to epigraphic evidence the Vākāṭakas were Brahmins and the Nalas were Kṣatriyas. So they definitely do not belong to one family. But as would be discussed, the Nalas appear to have belonged to indigenous non-Aryan stock (i.e., forest tribes or Nisadhas) originally inhabiting in the Vindhyan region. With a humble beginning as petty feudatories in course of time they carved out a big kingdom and subsequently associated their family with the epic king Nala who was in remote antiquity ruling over the same territory. The greatness and wide popularity of the Nala episode might have induced them to establish their pedigree with the epic Nala.

Our contention with regard to the indigenous origin of the Nala is essentially based on the following arguments.[17] In ancient times, it was a practice with the ruling families to associate their ancestry with some mythological beings. Even some dynasties like the Kuṣāṇas called themselves as *Devaputras* and associated their progeny directly with the god. This is popularly known as the divine origin theory of kingship. In the same manner the tribals tracing their origin initially from tree, animals, hills and sun, became ruling powers with acquisition of wealth and later on associated their origin with some mythological beings. By way of elucidation we can cite a few examples.

The Somavaṁśi kings of Orissa associated their origin with the moon and the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins, the Śailodbhavas called themselves as the offsprings of the mountain, the Bhañjas traced their origin from the egg of a pea-hen and the Gajapatis claimed their descent from the solar race. The objective is to stress the divine origin of kingship, commanding thereby, respect in the society.

In early times the non-Aryan ruling class, those who were beyond the pale of the Brahmanic and Kṣatriya society attempted to raise their social status by associating their families with the Brāhmaṇas or high Kṣatriyas. Through the process of social mobility the ruling chiefs achieved social,

political and economical status which led to maintain matrimonial relationship with the ruling chiefs of the Aryan stock. The engagement of the Brāhmin priests in the socio-religious ceremonies further accentuated the royal status. Some non-Aryan royal families of the south are known to have celebrated *Hiraṇyagarbha* sacrifice to justify their origin from the *Hiraṇya Yoni.*[18]

The totemistic origin of the Nalas as the indigenous tribals may also be taken into account.[19] 'Nal' or 'Nala' is the name of a tree or a species of grass which might have been the totemistic symbol of the early Nala kings. The names of the three early kings viz., Vyaghrarāja, Vṛsadhvaja and Varāharāja show their totemistic and animistic relation with animals. Most probably people who looked after and revered the 'Nal' plant or shrub might have been known as Nalas. Even now, many non-Aryan tribals worship the totemistic objects like tree or animal as their family deities from which they trace their origin. Thus, the 'Nal' plant or shrub might have been the early Nala kings' totemistic symbol from which they traced their descent. With the increase of their political importance as a ruling power, the totemistic Nala rulers might have associated their origin with the epic king Nala. That is why they repeatedly call themselves as *Nalānvaya* or *Nalavaṁśodbhava.* Had they belonged to either a Brāhmaṇa or Kṣatriya class, they would not have mentioned again and again as *Nalānvaya* in their records to glorify their origin. It is known that Nala of the epic belonged to Ikṣvāku race and so the historical Nalas should have called their family as Ikṣvākuvaṁśa instead of Nalavaṁśa and not being the totemistic tribals. It is probable that the Nalas might have been totemistic tribals originally.[20]

In support of this theory we can put forth the following examples of totemistic royal houses. From the Talgunda inscription of the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman[21] it is known that his family owed its origin to the Kādamba tree which was initially their family symbol. At present the 'Kujur' community of Chotanagpur trace their origin from a 'Kujur' or date palm tree.[22] Similarly, is the case with the Vaidumba family[23] of the Āndhra country.

There is no unanimity amongst scholars as regards the earliest Nala king who founded the dynasty. The Purāṇic evidences warranted in the *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa* Purāṇas[24] seem to be correct and accordingly we may place

the beginning of the Nala dynasty in the 3rd century A.D. The records of the Nala kings definitely assign them to the 4th century A.D.[25] on the ground of palaeography as the records are not dated in any specific era. On the evidence of the Nala coins, V.V. Mirashi[26] regards Varāharāja as the earliest king of the dynasty and assigns him to the 4th century A.D. If we are to believe the Purāṇic allusion, we have to search for the beginning of the dynasty in the 3rd century A.D., and find out who were the predecessors of Varāharāja. In the present state of our knowledge, there are three schools of opinion as regards the beginning of the dynastic rule and the first king. Each of the schools is discussed here.

P.L. Misra[27] is of the opinion that Mahendra mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription was the earliest Nala king. According to him, "he was a ruler of South Kosala and is known to have been defeated by Samudragupta, the third monarch of the Gupta dynasty of Northern India who reigned from c. 335 to 375 A.D. The records of the Nala dynasty show that this dynasty existed in the 4th/5th century A.D. as is also stated in the Purāṇas.

Since we know of no other dynasty except the Nalas ruling over this region in the 4th century A.D., Mahendravarman who was a contemporary of the Gupta emperor, must have belonged to this dynasty.[28] Elsewhere,[29] he has stated that Mahendra of the Allahabad pillar inscription is identical with the king Mahendrāditya of the Khairtal hoard of gold coins and the name Mahendravarman sounds well with some of the names of the known Nala rulers, viz., Bhavadattavarman and Skandavarman.

N.K. Sahu[30] who convincingly rejected his views and noted that there is no use of *varman* after the name of Mahendra in the Allahabad *praśasti* and Mahendrāditya is the same as Kumāragupta. The Purāṇas categorically state that the descendants of Nala ruled over Niṣadha which is same as Kāntāra and not Kosala. Pargiter[31] places the Nalas in the 3rd century A.D. and not in the 4th/5th century and hence Misra's view is not tenable. In fact, Mahendra cannot be accepted as a Nala king.

N.K. Sahu[32] and S.N. Rajaguru[33] have accepted Vṛṣadhvaja of the Bhita seal[34] as the first Nala king on the evidence of the epithet *Mahesvara-Mahāsen-ātisṛṣṭa-rājya-vibhava* found on the seal in question. Similar epithet is also found in the Nala records. The expression of the Nala records as well as that of the Bhita seal are strikingly similar that we have every reason to

accept him as a Nala king. D.C. Sircar[35] is also inclined to identify him as a Nala king. H.L. Sukla[36] however, thinks that Vṛṣadhvaja belonged to the Nāga family. His contention is that Bhita is near Allahabad in Bundelkhand region and the Nāgas were ruling over that territory, so the seal in question belonged to a Nāga king. His view is not tenable as we do not get any evidence to ascribe the seal to Nāga family. Moreover, the occurrence of matronymic expression, *Gautamīputrasya* on the seal definitely indicates that he belonged to the south.[37] We have, thus logical ground to associate him with the Nala family and therefore, he may be regarded as one of the early Nala kings.

N.K. Sahu[38] places Vṛṣadhvaja in the second half of the 4th century A.D. which appears quite plausible. However, he has taken him as the first king of the Nala dynasty whereas I have accepted him as the third in the line as the successor of Vyaghrarāja. There will be violation of Purāṇic evidence if Vṛṣadhvaja is taken to be the first king and therefore, the scholarly view of Sahu that Vṛṣadhvaja was the earliest king of the dynasty may not be tenable.

H.L. Sukla[39] identifies Vyaghrarāja of Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta as the first Nala king who was ruling over Kāntāra on the eve of his Southern expedition. But, I find it difficult to regard him as the first ruler of the dynasty. No doubt he was a contemporary of Samudragupta but he was certainly not the founder of the Nala line. Because, if we accept him as the first Nala king there will be violation of the Purāṇic evidence as propounded by Pargiter.[40] Therefore, I am inclined to accept him as the second king in the Nala genealogy as the successor of Śiśuka, the first monarch of the dynasty.

From the Purāṇas[41] we know that Śiśuka, contemporary to the Vākāṭaka king Pravīra, i.e., Pravarasena I, was the king of Purika[42] which has been identified with Puṣkari (modern Poḍāgaḍa), the capital of the Nalas. In the previous pages we have discussed about the contemporaneity of the rise of the Nalas and the Vākāṭakas in two adjacent territories in the Vindhyan region. Therefore, Śiśuka in all probability was the founder and the earliest king of the Nala dynasty who rose to power sometime in the second half of the 3rd century A.D. right at Puṣkari, the original capital city of the Nalas at the heart of Bastar-Koraput-Kalahandi region, in the ancient Niṣadha or Kāntāra kingdom.

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4. *EI*, vol. XXI, p. 55.
5. Ibid. vol. XXIV, p. 49.
6. *OHRJ*, vol. VI, pt. ii and iii, p. 100.
7. S.N. Rajaguru, *Inscriptions of Orissa*, vol. I, pt. ii, p. 107.
8. H.L. Sukla, op.cit., p. 47.
9. *Classical Age*, (*History & Culture of Indian People*, Vol. II), pp. 217-218.
10. *JBRS*, vol. XXXIII, pt. II, p. 19.
11. Poḍāgaḍa stone inscription of Skandavarman, Kesaribeda grant Arthapati.
12. Altekar, A New History of Indian People, pp. 93-123. Elsewhere he writes, "Purāṇa mentions Vindhyaśakti the founder of the dynasty as a ruler of Vidiśā near Bhopal and Purika which mentioned as its early capital is connected with Vidarbha (modern Berar) and Asmaka by ancient Geography". In the foot note he states, "The Purika province is coupled with Dasarna in *Bṛihat Saṁhitā* - XIV, 10 and mentioned along with Vidarbha and Asmaka in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, CVII, 49, *ibid.*
13. *Classical Age*, pp. 217-218.
14. *JBRS*, vol. XXXIII, pts. 1-2, p. 19.
15. *Classical Age*, p. 217.
16. *Ibid.*
17. Sukla, op. cit., pp. 43-53.
18. D.C. Sircar, *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan*, pp. 50-124.
19. Sukla, op.cit., p. 49.
20. *Ibid*, p. 50.
21. *EI*, vol. V. pp. 24-36.
22. Majumdar, *Races and Culture of India*, p. 357.
23. Sukla, op. cit., pp. 51-52.
24. Pargiter, op. cit., p. 37.
25. Sahu, op. cit., p. 572; Sukla, op. cit., pp. 46-47.; *IHQ*, vol. XXXVI, p. 25.
26. *JNSI*, vol. I, pp. 25-35.
27. *IHQ*, vol. XXXVI, pp. 247-259.
28. *Ibid*, p. 251.
29. *Ibid*, vol. XXXVII, pp. 2-40.
30. Sahu, op. cit., pp. 506-509. Mahendrāditya is also identified as a Śarabhapurīya king.
31. Pargiter, op. cit., p. 51.
32. Sahu, op. cit., pp. 50 ff.
33. Rajaguru, op. cit., pp. 109 ff.
34. *ASR*, 1911-12, p. 51.
35. *Classical Age*, pp. 188.
36. Sukla, op. cit., p. 54.
37. Sahu, op. cit., p. 510.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 512.
39. Sukla, op. cit., pp. 55-56.
40. Pargiter, op. cit., p. 51.
41. *Ibid*; also see, *Classical Age*, Vol. III, pp. 217-218
42. G. Ramdas, op. cit., p. 19.

25

ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE ŚAILODBHAVAS

SNIGDHA TRIPATHY

The existence of a line of kings in the 7th century of the Christian era round the coastal districts of Puri and Ganjam, came to the notice of the scholarly world with the discovery and study of some epigraphic records of these kings and their times. They reveal the existence of a kingdom called Koṅgoda-maṇḍala with its headquarter of the same name, i.e., Koṅgoda, ruled by the kings known as the Śailodbhavas.[1] The history of these kings has been practically reconstructed with the help of about sixteen copper plate charters, known to have been issued by them. There are, however, other sources to know a tentative cultural history of the period, such as the ancient monuments and accounts of foreign travellers which have corroborated these epigraphic evidences to a considerable extent.

The kingdom of Koṅgoda grew out of the ruins of Kaliṅga-rāṣṭra of the Vigrahas and Dakṣiṇa Tosali of the Mudgalas who held sway over the regions during the second part of the 6th century A.D. Before this period, the name of Koṅgoda is not found in the literary nor in epigraphic records. The fact is corroborated by the inscriptions of the Vigrahas of Kaliṅga-rāṣṭra and the Mudgalas of Uttara Tosali and Dakṣiṇa Tosali.[2] During this period Uttara Tosali (northern Tosali) denoted the present Cuttack and Balasore regions on the northern division of the river Mahānadī in Orissa and the south-western region of Midnapore district in West Bengal, then known as Daṇḍabhukti. Dakṣiṇa Tosali (southern Tosali) comprised the present districts of Puri and the northern part of Ganjam up to the river Ṛṣikulyā, rather, up to the Chilka

lake, during the rule of the Mudgalas. The region round the river Ṛṣikulya was sometimes included in the kingdom of Kaliṅga as known from the inscription of Pṛthivīvigraha.

The main historical event that occured during the later part of the 6th century A.D. was the collapse of the Vigrahas in Kaliṅga, apparently caused by the Mudgalas of both the Tosalis (northern and southern Tosali) who were themselves extirpated by the Gauḍas of Bengal. The event was actually responsible for the rise of the Śailodbhavas by carving out a new kingdom at the expense of the declining powers of the Vigrahas and the Mudgalas. The downfall of the Mudgalas paved the way for Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa whose capital was at Karṇasuvarṇa in the southern part of the Midnapore district in West Bengal, to undertake a policy of expansion towards the southern part of Orissa. The extant epigraphic records covering a short period of fifty years from about 570-71 A.D. to 620-621 A.D. reveal that the Vigrahas from Kaliṅga-rāṣṭra and the Mudgalas from both the Tosalis were ousted as a result of Gauḍa hegemony under Śaśāṅka. By the year 620-21 A.D. Śaśāṅka's suzerainty is known to have been acknowledged by a feudatory chief of the Śailodbhava family, in the region which was earlier ruled by one Dharmarāja of the Abhaya family as a feudatory of Pṛthivīvigraha of Kaliṅga-rāṣṭra during 570-71 A.D.[3] The principality ruled by this Dharmarāja was subsequently occupied by a semi-independent king named Charamparāja[4], came to be known as Koṅgoda. The geographical division called *viṣaya* or district of Vartini mentioned in the record of Śivarāja,[5] a feudatory under the Mudgala overlord Śambhuyaśas, as to have situated in the southern part of Dakṣiṇa Tosali, which has been identified with the present Buguda-Polasara region of the Ganjam district. This region subsequently formed a part of Koṅgoda. The name of Koṅgoda, as the place of issue of Charamparāja's copper plate charter, appears for the first time in his grant, apparently indicating the chief city of his kingdom, though the name of the kingdom and the family to which he belonged cannot be ascertained from it. The names of the above feudatories of the Vigrahas and the Mudgalas, Dharmarāja and Śivarāja and also, Charamparāja of Koṅgoda, and the region they ruled would make us believe that these feudatories and the semi-independent rulers were predecessors of the Śailodbhavas, before Koṅgoda formed a part of Śaśāṅka's empire and when a specific name of the kingdom as Koṅgoda-maṇḍala was not in existence. The feudatories seem to belong to the same line of kings

who were striving for power and looking for an opportunity to assert independence, and whose successors subsequently claimed to belong to the family called Śailodbhava. It was Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa after his Orissan conquest, installed a scion named Mādhavarāja, from among this line of kings by forming the principality of Koṅgoda-maṇḍala with Koṅgoda as its headquarters. This feudatory of Śaśāṅka was endowed with somewhat higher status than those of his predecessors who acknowledged the suzerainty of the Vigrahas as well as the Mudgalas mentioned above. This Mādhavarāja is known to be the first king to claim the establishment of the dynasty called the Śailodbhava and name his kingdom as Koṅgoda-maṇḍala. The history of the Śailodbhava dynasty practically began with the rule of this Mādhavarāja *alias* Sainyabhīta, the feudatory of Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa and who appeared to be the real founder as well as the suzerainty of the dynasty.

Mādhavarāja, who began his career as a feudatory, was the second king to bear this name in the family of the Śailodbhavas as known from his records. As many as six copper plate records of this king have so far been discovered revealing interesting pieces of information relating to the history of the southern part of Orissa during the 7th century A.D. The following are the copper plate grants of this king so far known to have been discovered :

1. Ganjam grant of Mādhavarāja, Gupta year, 300 (No. 1)[6].
2. Khurda plates of Mādhavarāja, (No. 2)[7].
3. Buguda plates of Mādhavavarman, (No. 3)[8].
4. Purushottampur plates of Mādhavavarman, (No. 4)[9].
5. Puri plates of Mādhavavarman, (No. 5)[10].
6. Cuttack Museum plates of Mādhavavarman, (No. 6)[11].

Mādhavarāja issued his earliest copper plate charter (No. 1) dated in the Gupta year 300, an era initiated by the imperial Gupta dynasty of Northern India, corresponding to c. 620-621 A.D. The charter refers to Śaśāṅka as his overlord, the Gauḍa monarch of Eastern India. The extant records of this king may be classified into two groups as the earlier and the latter charters on the basis of the nature of the records. The first two copper plate records (Nos. 1 and 2) were issued during the early part of his reign and written in prose whereas the last four records (Nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6) were issued when he asserted independence and played significant role in the politics of the southern Orissa during the later part of his life.

The introductory part of the Ganjam grant (No. 1) of this king written in prose, is similar to that found in the Sumandala plates of Dharmarāja[12] of the Gupta year 250 (c. 570-71 A.D.) and that of the Kanas plate of Lokavigraha of the Gupta year 280 (c. 600-601 A.D.)[13]. The royal seal attached to this charter bears the legend *Śrī-Sainyabhītasya* revealing that he was endowed with a secondary or coronation name. This is also corroborated by the later records of Mādhavarāja. The grant is stated to have been issued from the locality called the 'victorious Koṅgoda' which was presumably the headquarter of his kingdom. Though the name of the kingdom is not stated in this record, the subsequent records of this king reveal that the territory ruled by him was called Koṅgoda-maṇḍala. The city of Koṅgoda, the place of issue of the charter is stated to have been situated on the bank of a river called Sālimā. The charter records the grant of the locality called Cchavalakkhaya situated in the *viṣaya* (district) of Kṛṣṇagiri, in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named Charampasvāmin of the Bhāradvāja *gotra,* on the occasion of a solar eclipse. Though the localities and the river have been tentatively identified with their present namesakes by the earlier scholars, they have been contradicted by recent observations on the subject as will be shown later.

The charter furnishes a genealogical list of the reigning king Mādhavarāja which may be presented below in a tabular form :

Mahārāja-mahāsāmanta Mādhavarāja I

|

Mahārāja Ayaśobhīta

|

Mahārāja-mahāsāmanta Mādhavarāja II *alias*

Śrī-Sainyabhīta (the donor)

Thus the pedegree shows that Mādhavarāja II was the son of Ayaśobhīta and grandson of Mādhavarāja I. Besides reference to Śaśāṅka as his overlord, the fact that he was a feudatory, has been further corroborated by his feudatory titles of *mahārāja* and *mahāsāmanta*. His predecessors were also feudatories as known from the feudatory titles affixed to their names in the record. But it cannot be said with certainty if Mādhavarāja I and his son Ayaśobhīta were subordinate chiefs acknowledging suzerainty of Śaśāṅka. No epigraphic records of these kings are known to have been discovered so far, to corroborate this assumption, though they have been quite vaguely referred to in the records of their successors.

It is known from the Sumandala plates of the time of Pṛthivīvigraha that one Dharmarāja of Abhaya family was in charge of administration as a feudatory in the region round Khallikote in the Ganjam district, fifty years before the issue of the Ganjam grant of Mādhavarāja II. Unfortunately, this grant of Dharmarāja does not furnish the names of his predecessors. It seems, Dharmarāja was succeeded by Mādhavarāja I as a feudatory in this region which later on came to be known as Koṅgoda-maṇḍala when Mādhavarāja II came to power. Mādhavarāja I was succeeded by his son Ayaśobhīta who was also a feudatory bearing the subordinate title of *mahārāja*. Attempts have been made[14] to identify Ayaśobhīta with Charamparāja of Koṅgoda, the donor of the Khaṇḍipadā-Nuāpalli grant which was discovered from a locality contiguous to the find spot of the Sumandala plates of the time of Pṛthivīvigraha. But it cannot be said anything definitely as to who was the overlord of Mādhavarāja I and Ayaśobhīta as we find Charamparāja intervening between them as a semi-independent king for a short period. It may, however, be presumed that Mādhavarāja I and his son had very short reign, if they ever succeeded to the throne of Koṅgoda.

The second copper plate charter of Mādhavarāja II was also issued from Koṅgoda. The royal seal attached to this charter contains like that of his first one, the figure of a bull with the legend *Śrī-Sainyabhītasya*. It confirms that he had the secondary name of Sainyabhīta. The genealogy stated in this grant and furnished below would suggest that Mādhavarāja I, the grandfather of the donor of the grant also had the secondary name of Sainyabhīta who may be called Sainyabhīta I :

Śrī-Sainyabhīta I
|
Śrī-Ayaśobhīta
|
Śrī-Mādhavarāja *alias* Sainyabhīta II

The scripts used in this record closely resemble to those found in the Ganjam grant of the same king as well as the Sumandala plates though the drafting of the introductory part of this charter is altogether different from his first record. The charter records the grant of a locality called Kumbhāraccheda situated within the village of Arahaṇṇa in the district of Thoraṇa. Kumbhāraccheda constituted a part of the said village, evidently,

inhabited by the potters (the *kumbhakāras*). The expression *cheda* signifies a part of a village as known from several earlier epigraphic records of the Kaliṅga region. There is no reference to any officer responsible for the execution of the charter. The same is also found in the case of the Ganjam grant. The practice of referring to some officers executing the grant is known to have been followed in the later charters of this king. The present record unlike the Ganjam grant is not dated. It also does not refer to the overlord of the reigning king Mādhavarāja-Sainyabhīta II. He is rather, endowed with the prestigious royal title of the 'lord of the whole of Kaliṅga' (*Sakala-Kaliṅg-ādhipati*) in this record.

The Ganjam grant of Mādhavarāja II was issued on the occasion of a solar eclipse. As regards the date of this charter, F. Kielhorn worked out two nearest possible dates which could have corroborated the Gupta year mentioned in this record.[15] The two solar eclipses, according to him, visible to the Ganjam district were one, on the 4th November, 617 A.D. and the other, on the 2nd September, 620 A.D. The possible date of the grant may be the later one when Mādhavarāja II was a feudatory of Śaśāṅka. It seems, immediately after 620 A.D. Mādhavarāja II possibly assumed independence. After this date, Śaśāṅka was no more in the political arena of Orissa when Mādhavarāja II issued his Khurda grant (No. 2), claiming himself to be the 'lord of the whole of Kaliṅga'. During about 634 A.D. the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang visited Eastern India. According to his accounts, Śaśāṅka appears to be dead by this date.[16] The epigraphic records of the Vigrahas and the Mudgalas would make us believe that Śaśāṅka's invasion of Koṅgoda was accomplished after the Gupta year 283 (c. 603-604 A.D.) and thus he was in occupation of Orissa for a short period of about 20 years. It is sometimes believed, on the basis of the Pilgrim's account that Harṣavardhana, the Puṣyabhuti king of Kanauj invaded and subjugated Utkala and Koṅgoda soon after Śaśāṅka's death in about 625 A.D. But his victory over these regions, particularly over Koṅgoda seems to have been more formal than real as we know from the subsequent records of Mādhavarāja II and his successors that the Śailodbhavas enjoyed independent status after Śaśāṅka's death. The Khurda and the subsequent records of Mādhavarāja do not refer to any overlord reigning in the Koṅgoda region. Mādhavarāja had also abandoned the use of Gupta era in his later records. It is, however, to be presumed that, if at all Harṣa invaded Koṅgoda, it must have been shortlived.

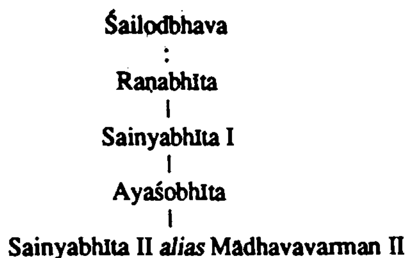
The facts furnished by the Aihole inscription[17] of Pulakeśin II would make us believe that Harṣa suffered reverses at the hands of this Western Cālukyan king sometime before 634 A.D. Harṣa, allied with Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarupa, is known to have defeated the Gauḍa king Śaśāṅka when the Chinese pilgrim visited Eastern India, apparently sometime before 634 A.D. Thus it is apparent that Harṣa's defeat at the hands of Pulakeśin II must have occured after the former's victory over Śaśāṅka. All these events took place within a short period of about 20 years after 620-21 A.D. when Mādhavarāja II asserted independence by throwing off the yoke of Śaśāṅka. The Khurda grant issued without any reference to his overlord and date, seems to have belonged to a period of political turmoil, perhaps due to the invasion of Pulakeśin II and Harṣa. Mādhavarāja II took this opportunity to assume the prestigious title of *Sakala-Kaliṅg-ādhipati,* though evidences are not available to show his conquest of the entire Kaliṅga country which was then under the control of the early Eastern Gaṅga dynasty with their headquarters at Kaliṅganagara, the present region round Mukhalingam in the Srikakulam district in Andhra Pradesh. It cannot however, be said with any degree of certainty, if he assumed such royal title by extending boundaries of his kingdom. The conspicuous absence of the reference to Kaliṅga in his latter records would indicate that even if he succeeded in wresting some portions of the Gaṅga kingdom of Kaliṅga, his success was purely temporary. The contemporary Gaṅga king during or after 620 A.D. seems to be Indravarman who issued a copper plate charter from his capital at Kaliṅganagara in the Gaṅga year 128 corresponding to c. 626-27 A.D.[18] Mādhavarāja II, presumably came into conflict with this Gaṅga king and temporarily snatched away a portion of Kaliṅga and boasted of the prestigious royal title though there is no tangible evidence to prove such an assumption.

Besides the above two copper plate records written in Sanskrit prose, there are four more charters issued by this Śailodbhava king in the later part of his reign when he was firmly established as an independent ruler in his kingdom of Koṅgoda. Curiously enough, these four latter records are written in Sanskrit verses which would impress the scholars at the outset that the issuer of these records was a different king from the issuer of the first two records in prose. A versified introduction of the kings of the Śailodbhava dynasty from its very inception is to be found in these latter records which is also known to have been copied by the successors of Mādhavarāja II in their

own grants. Moreover, a legendary account of the origin of the dynasty is to be noticed in these introductory verses for the first time. The style of this versified introduction seems to have close affinity with the one that has been adopted in the Aihole inscription of the Western Cālukyan king Pulakeśin II. The first verse in this inscription is in adoration of lord Jinendra, the following verse introduces the reigning king and then the verses enumerate the history of the Cālukyan family from the very beginning of the dynasty. Likewise, the first verse in the later records of Mādhavarāja-Sainyabhīta II is in adoration of lord Śiva which is followed by a verse introducing the reigning king endowed with the epithet Mādhavendra. The following verses in the introductory part delineate the history of the Śailodbhava family from the beginning of the dynasty. It begins with a legendary account of the origin of the family, first introducing a legendary person named Pulindasena, described as the famous among the people of Kaliṅga and a devotee of lord Svayambhu (Śiva). But the person does not seem to be directly associatd with the family of the Śailodbhavas. He is stated to have obtained boon from god Śiva as a result of his worship. The God created apparently out of the rocks, the eponymous king named Śailodbhava who became famous as the founder of the family of kings known as the Śailodbhavas. The following verse speaks of his descendant named Araṇabhīta or Raṇabhita. The subsequent several verses have been devoted to exhibit the pedigree of the family and the descendants reciting their achievements and magnifying the importance of the kings. Raṇabhīta or Araṇabhīta had the son named Sainyabhīta who has been identified with Mādhavarāja I *alias* Sainyabhīta I of the Ganjam and Khurda grants (Nos. 1 and 2). He was succeeded by Yaśobhīta or Ayaśobhīta. This king has often been described in the versified genealogy, apparently as the descendant and not as the son of Sainyabhīta I. His son and successor has been named as Mādhavavarman (II) who is the same king as Mādhavarāja II of the Ganjam and Khurda records. Though his father Yaśobhīta or Ayaśobhīta has been described as a descendant of Sainyabhīta I-Mādhavavarman I in a few records, he has been clearly mentioned as the son of Mādhavarāja I in the Ganjam and Khurda grants as well as in the pedigree given in some of the records of his successors. It may be pointed out in this context that there are several literary as well as epigraphic instances of the son representing as a descendant of the father[19].

Of the six copper plate records the two earlier grants were issued in the name of Mādhavarāja II *alias* Sainyabhīta II and written in prose. Rest of the

four charters were issued by the same king in the name of Mādhavavarman II *alias* Sainyabhīta II. The third charter attributed to this king is the Buguda grant (No. 3) which is not dated. This seems to be the first record of the king to have been written in verse. Besides, the other three records of this king, written in verse, viz., the Purushottampur (No. 4), Puri (No. 5) and the Cuttack Museum (No. 6) charters are dated in his regnal years. The Purushottampur and the Puri grants are dated in his 13th regnal year though the date in the Puri grant has been doubtfully read by R.G. Basak[20] as 23. The last known grant, i.e., the Cuttack Museum charter is dated in his 50th regnal year. Most of the verses used are common in all these four grants of Mādhavavarman II or Mādhavarāja II, composed for the first time, presumably by a court poet of his time. With the exception of his last grant (No. 6), all the other records were issued from Koṅgoda which was evidently the capital or the chief city of the kingdom bearing the same name. His last grant was issued from a locality called Mādhavapura evidently named after Mādhavavarman II. The other three grants refer to one of his epithets as Śrīnivāsa in a verse which is not to be found in his Cuttack Museum plates. There is a reference to the mount Mahendra in one of the verses of this charter which has been described as the *kulagiri* (literally meaning the 'family mountain'). It seems, the mountain formed the sourthern boundary of the kingdom of Koṅgoda-maṇḍala and the family of the Śailodbhava originally hailed from the region round this mountain. It is known to have been intimately associated with the kingdom of Kaliṅga from several of the literary as well as epigraphic records. The inscriptions of the early Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara refer to the mountain to be the abode of lord Gokarṇeśvara (Śiva), the presiding deity of the Gaṅga family[21]. The epigraphic records of the Māṭhara and the Pitṛbhakta kings refer to a district named Mahendrabhoga-*viṣaya* situated in their kingdom of Kaliṅga and presumably named after that mountain[22]. The four latter grants of Mādhavavarman II furnish the following genealogy tracing it from a legendary or eponymous king up to his time :



Mādhavavarman II as known from these grants, abandoned the practice of using the Gupta era as soon as he asserted independence. He reigned in Koṅgoda-maṇḍala at least for 50 years enjoying an independent status. The four later grants dated in his regnal years reveal that he performed the horse sacrifice (*Aśvamedha*) and certain other sacrifices which must have been performed sometime after 620-21 A.D. when he threw off the Gauḍa yoke. The performance of several sacrifices including the *Aśvamedha* would indicate the recent assumption of independence for the dynasty. Probably, after the death of Śaśāṅka, he embarked upon a policy of expansion and also extended the boundaries of his kingdom at the expense of the early Eastern Gaṅgas and others. To commemorate his victories, perhaps, he performed the *Aśvamedha* and other sacrifices. His rule in Koṅgoda may have continued till about 670-71 A.D.

As a mark of his independent status Mādhavavarman II seems to have adopted the practice of enumerating the achievements of the Śailodbhava family with a fabulous genealogy in verses, carrying back to the legendary ancestors of the reigning king, fabricated by the court poet with a poetic fancy. Traces ot this fabricated genealogy are not found in his two earlier charters. The tradition of tracing the origin of different royal families to mythical or legendary personages had become common during the early medieval period. The practice of fabricating a respectable genealogy tracing descent from a number of mythical and imaginary personages is very often noticed from the early medieval times in some well known dynasties of different parts of India, such as the Gurjara-Pratihāras, claiming descent from the Solar dynasty, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas from the Yādava dynasty of Purāṇic and epic fame, the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty of Orissa from the Lunar dynasty of the Purāṇas and the epics. Legends were often fabricated by the court poets to claim such respectable descent and also to explain the name of the royal family as is the case with the Śailodbhavas. The tendency was to associate the founder of the family with an eponymous hero in order to maintain high status among other royal families. The principal motive behind such exaggerated legendary accounts was to legitimise the authority of the new ruler and to consolidate the rule of his dynasty. The real origin of the Śailodbhavas, thus seems to have been indicated by this conventional exaggeration. They appear to have belonged originally to an aboriginal stock of the region, the Pulindas, living around the Mahendra mountain in the

southern part of Ganjam. The petty chieftains of this tribal stock gradually accumulated power and were eager to be merged into the sophisticated Hinduism. The process of state formation in ancient Orissa, as elsewhere in the Indian sub-continent, had its genesis in the tribal areas as is revealed by the legendary accounts found in the records of various royal families, such as the Bhañjas, the Eastern Gaṅgas etc., while enumerating their origin. The process seems to have been adopted in different tribal areas of Orissa with the commencement of the political career of the Śailodbhavas. The petty tribal chiefs, later on claiming to be the Śailodbhavas launched a bid for supremacy in the process of socio-cultural transformation that led to their social promotion from their tribal origin to the Hinduised elements, that they claimed the miraculous origin of their founder from the inanimate rocks through the grace of the god Śiva and assumed the name Śailodbhava (born out of rocks) for their family. They were eager to elevate themselves socially as well as politically by imposing upon the people and the respectable ruling families, the conception of a miraculous origin of the founder, so that they could claim a respectable status in the society as well as among the other Kṣatriya clans.

The introductory verses though deal with some historical personages, believed to be identical, bearing same names as found in the earlier records in prose and historical events, they are shadowed by political, eulogistic and conventional elements. The verse devoted to introduce Raṇabhīta as a descendant of the legendary figure Śailodbhava, would make us believe that he was the first historical king of the dynasty, who has been taken by some scholars to have flourished during about the 6th century A.D.[23] But nothing is known about this personage from any other source. He is sometimes represented as the father of Mādhavavarman-Sainyabhīta I. Raṇabhīta or Araṇabhīta seems to be a secondary name, his first name being unknown from any other source. It is to be noted in this context that Raṇabhīta was an epithet assumed by the Eastern Gaṅga king Hastivarman as known from his copper plate records dated in the Gaṅga year 79 (c. 577 A.D.) and year 80 (c. 578-79 A.D.).[24] The Śailodbhavas, presumably adopted this epithet for themselves in order to elaborate the fabricated genealogy. It is further to be noted that this secondary name is not known to have been adopted by any of the successors of this early Śailodbhava king though we are acquainted with such secondary names as Ayaśobhīta and Sainyabhīta, invariably adopted by the Śailodbhava rulers.

One of the interesting facts revealed by the Buguda plates (No. 3) of Mādhavavarman II is in respect of its palaeography. The characters used in the charter look more developed and do not tally with the scripts used in other grants of the king nor with the scripts prevalent in Orissa during 7th and 8th centuries of the Christian era. Moreover, it may be pointed out as F. Kielhorn, the editor of the grant said, "these plates originally bore another inscription, the letters of which probably were beaten in to make room for the inscription here edited. But some letters of the older inscription may still be recognized even in the ink impression especially on the second side of the second plate".[25] Traces of this earlier inscription may have belonged to a Śailodbhava charter of about 7th or 8th century A.D. The later scripts, according to Kielhorn, belong to the Northern variety of alphabet of about 10th century A.D. They closely resemble, as has been rightly pointed out by him, to the scripts used in the grants of Neṭṭabhañja *alias* Kalyāṇakalaśa and Vidyādharabhañja of the Bhañja dynasty of Khiñjali-maṇḍala who ruled from Vañjulvaka during about 10th century A.D. Rather, it may evidently be pointed out that the later scripts in the Buguda charter of Māhavavarman II and in the Ganjam[26] and Komonda[27] charters of Neṭṭabhañja were incised by one and the same person. The original writing on the Buguda charter seems to have beaten in and re-engraved on the same plates at a later date, obviously during the time of Neṭṭabhañja *alias* Kalyāṇakalaśa of the Bhañja dynasty of Vañjulvaka. Almost all the extant copper plate grants of Neṭṭabhañja are known to have been engraved by one Durgadeva designated as *Akṣaśālin* or the gold-smith. The interesting point to be noted is that the letters incised by Durgadeva in the Bhañja copper plate grants are very much akin to those engraved in the Buguda plates of Mādhavavarman II. It tends to suggest that Durgadeva re-incised the Buguda plates during about 10th century A.D. when Neṭṭabhañja came to rule around Buguda and Bhanjanagar in the Ganjam District which was earlier included in the kingdom of Koṅgoda-maṇḍala of the Śailodbhavas. In this context we may refer to the two incomplete palimpssests[28] discovered from the region called Dharakote near Aska in the Ganjam district which would also corroborate the above view.[29] This palimpssest record having two copper plates, the ring with the royal seal being lost, is now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar. Each plate on one side contains the introductory part of the grants of the Bhañja king named Kalyāṇakalaśa, evidently, the secondary name of Neṭṭabhañja

and the other side being engraved with the introductory verses of a record of the Śailodbhava dynasty. Both the records are incomplete as the third plate is lost which formed the middle plate of the grant of Kalyāṇakalaśa and the last plate of a Śailodbhava king. It is not possible now to determine the name of the Śailodbhava king whose grant these stray plates contained. Both the incomplete records appear to have been engraved by the same person named Durgadeva whose name is found to have been mentioned along with other officers at the end of the plate containing the record of Kalyāṇakalaśa.[30] It is to be noted that the sides containing the Śailodbhava record were beaten in to make space for the Bhañja grant. The remains of the earlier writings are clearly seen in the plates if minutely observed. Very faint remains of a few letters are also seen on the side the Śailodbhava record has been re-engraved by Durgadeva during about 10th century A.D.

The reason behind re-engraving the earllier record at a later date as found in the Buguda plates may presumably be attributed to the loss or damaged condition of the letters on the plates of the set issued by Mādhavavarman II. It was possibly re-engraved on the request of the successors of the donee during the reign of Neṭṭabhañja in order to establish the authenticity on the ownership of the grant, evidently continued to exist since earlier period and which he inherited from his predecessors. The re-engravings on the Dharakote plates also tend to suggest that the family of the donee which enjoyed the grant made previously by a Śailodbhava king, was later endowed with a fresh grant of newly reclaimed land by the Bhañja king or confirming the previous grant.

The officers responsible for the execution of the original charter of Mādhavavarman II as given in the Buguda plates are also found in his later charters, viz., Purushottampur (No. 4), Puri (No. 5) and also in the Cuttack Museum plates (No. 6), though in the last mentioned record the name of some of the new officers are found. The engraver of the original charter of the Buguda plates named Daḍḍibhogin was also the engraver of the Puri and Purushottampur plates. His name has been differently spelt in these three grants as Chaḍḍibhogin (Puri plates), Cheḍḍibhogin (Purushottampur plates) and Daḍḍibhogin (Buguda plates). It seems, Durgadeva of the time of Neṭṭabhañja, who re-engraved the Buguda plates of Mādhavavarman II and the Dharakote plates of an unknown Śailodbhava king was probably directed

to copy the contents of the record exactly as they were in their original form. This would also indicate that the charters were re-engraved for a renewal of the grants by the descendants of the donee in order to establish their ownership over the lands granted. The palimpssest record of the Śailodbhava king, in all probability, belonged to Mādhavavarman II. The name of the engraver of the original Buguda charter seems to have been wrongly read as Daḍḍibhogin for Chaḍḍibhogin of other grants of Mādhavavarman II, by Durgadeva at the time of re-engraving. This person was probably the same who engraved the Cuttack Museum plates of the same king and whose name has been correctly written in this record as Skandabhogin in its Sanskritized form. He was a *bhogin* or the head of administration of a group of villages called *bhoga*. The officers named Upendrasiṁha, son of Kuṇḍa-*bhogin* and Jayasiṁha have not been endowed with any official designation and appears to have served Mādhavavarman II till the end of his reign. Jayasiṁha affixed the royal seal in all the four latre grants of this king. In this context we may refer to a verse in *Anuṣṭubh* meter found engraved on a slab of stone at the ruined temple site recently exposed by the archaeologists at Baṅkāḍagaḍa near Banpur in the Puri district. The text of the inscription is as follows :

1. Pracchannaṁ kila bhoktavyaṁ daridreṇa viśeṣata[ḥ][1*]
2. āhāreṇa tu daurvalyaṁ Yaśasiṁhena viditaḥ[11*][31]

The inscription, apparently incomplete in nature, seems to refer to some endowments made by one Yaśasiṁha to the temple in order to provide victuals for the poor in the temple or the monastery attached to the temple. It is probable that this Yaśasiṁha was the same as Jayasiṁha of the above copper plate records of Mādhavavarman II who was entrusted with the administration of the area around Baṅkāḍagaḍa (literally meaning a fort of that name). In this context, it may be pointed out that the palaeography of the above inscription closely resembles the scripts used in the Śailodbhava charters and may be attributed to about 7th and 8th centuries A.D. Moreover, the date of the ruined temple is also generally assigned to this period.

The chief executor of all the later charters excepting the Cuttack Museum plates was Gaṅgabhadra who acted as the *dūtaka* and designated as the *pratihāra*. The *dūtaka* of the Cuttack Museum plates was Guhacandra.

The Cuttack Museum charter of Mādhavavarman II adds a new verse at the end of the record referring to a person presumably a feudatory king

named Śrī-Varamora. This name seems to have occurred on a broken slab of stone containing a few letters at the ruined temple site of the above mentioned Baṅkāḍagaḍa. But the reading is doubtful as the letters of this slab are very carelessly engraved. The relevent verse of the charter states that the reigning king showed favour to his feudatory named Śrī-Varamora and had been graciously disposed towards him. Mādhavavarman has been described in this verse as Lokanātha. It seems to be one of the epithets like that of Śrīnivāsa attributed to him. Controversies prevail among scholars relating to the identification of Lokanātha. Scholars believe that Mādhavavarman II allied himself with a king named Lokanātha of Śrīdharapura on the basis of the reading of the text by N.G. Majumdar.[32] Lokanātha has been identified with a king of the same name ruling in the Samataṭa region of Bengal. But what has been read by Majumdar as *Śrīdharaporaḥ* and corrected as *Śrīdharapauraḥ*, actually seems to have been written *Śrī-Varamoraḥ* indicating the name of the feudatory king whom Mādhavavarman had shown favour by friendly gestures and perhaps by agreeing to grant land which was situated in the dominions of this feudatory chief.

The palaeographic peculiarity found in the Buguda plates, together with the change of the king's name in his later records in verses as Mādhavavarman instead of Mādhavarāja of his earlier grants in prose, have aroused suspicion among scholars about the identity of the ruler. Moreover, Ayaśobhīta, father of Mādhavavarman II has been sometimes mentioned as a descendant and sometimes as a son of Mādhavavarman I in the versified genealogy of the later records of the successors of this king. They have suggested on the basis of the above information that there existed distinctly two groups of the Śailodbhava kings and accordingly designated them as 'earlier' and 'later'.[33] According to them Mādhavavarman-Sainyabhīta II of the versified records was a later Śailodbhava king and ruled in about 850 A.D. and who may be the third ruler of the same name in the family. But the recent observations on these points would tend to suggest that Mādhavarāja-Sainyabhīta II was later endowed with the name of Mādhavavarman-Sainyabhīta II when he acquired the status of sovereignty. The date attributed to this king would also clash with some known facts of history as it is now a well known fact that during the later half of the 8th century A.D. the Buddhist kings of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty of Tosali and Utkala had already occupied

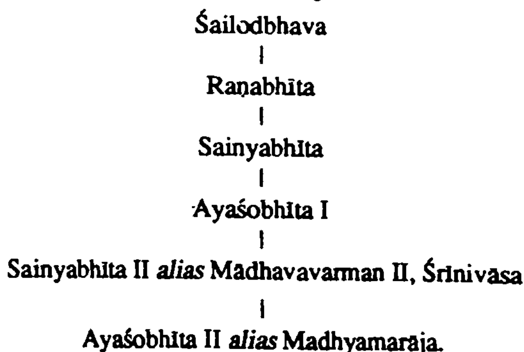
the kingdom of Koṅgodamaṇḍala and the Śailodbhava had gone into oblivion by that period.

It is now known that the predecessors of Mādhavavarman II were all feudatories who held petty principalities in Ganjam and Puri regions, at first under Vigrahas then for sometime under the Mudgalas. Mādhavarāja or Mādhavavarman I described as the grand-father of Mādhavavarman II is not yet known to have issued any charter. He is known only from his grandson's records and of his successors. Probably, Mādhavavarman I and his son Ayaśobhita had a very short reign if ever they ascended the throne of Koṅgoda. The political disturbances that followed the downfall of the Vigrahas and the invasion of Śaśāṅka, it is quite probable to think that Ayaśobhita or his father could hardly find time to consolidate their power and position.

One of the important events during the reign of Mādhavavarman II is the visit of Koṅgoda by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang in about 638 A.D. Interesting facts are known from his travel accounts relating to the political as well as socio-economic conditions of Koṅgoda during the time of his visit. Mādhavavarman II was evidently on the throne of Koṅgoda during that period, though there is no reference to the contemporary king of this country in the pilgrim's account. Hiuen-Tsang speaks highly of the people of Koṅgoda. The relevent passage from his travels has been translated thus by Samuel Beal, "Within the limits of this country there are several tens of small towns which border on the mountains and are built contiguous to the sea. The cities themselvese are strong and high ; the soldiers are brave and daring ; they rule by force the neighbouring provinces, so that no one can resist them".[34] In another place Beal has translated, "This country bordering on the sea, abounds in many are and valuable articles. They are cowrie-shells and pearls in commercial transactions". Watters puts it in somewhat different way, "As the towns were naturally strong, there was a gallant army which kept the neighbouring countries in awe, and so there was no powerful enemy".[35] The pilgrims also observed, "Rare and precious substances of various kinds from the sea-ports are bartered for merchandise".[36] Thus the people of Koṅgoda enjoyed a period of peace and prosperity during the reign of Mādhavavarman II.

This king was succeeded by his son Mādhyamarāja *alias* Ayaśobhīta as known from his two extant copper plate records.[37] The name Mādhyamarāja ever assumed by the Śailodbhava kings, is known for the first time from these two charters, though the secondary or coronation name Ayaśobhīta seems to have been adopted by this king from his grandfather who is found in the pedigree of the Śailodbhavas mentioned in almost all of their records. Mādhyamarāja was thus the second king of the family to assume the name and may be called Ayaśobhīta II. Unfortunately, one of these two charters (Banpur grant) is incomplete in nature. That the issuer of this charter was Mādhyamarāja-Ayaśobhīta II could be known only from a verse on the reverse side of the second plate describing his achievements, the third plate engraved with half a line of writing intended for introducing the customary list of officials and others belonging to the kingdom of Koṅgoda-maṇḍala, in prose. It is not known why the last plate is abandoned without engraving the grant portion. The charter is reported to have been discovered from Banpur in the Puri district. There are altogether twenty verses of which twelve are already known from the records of his father Mādhavavarman II. The verse introducing king Mādhavendra, first found in the records of his father which is known to be one of his epithets is also found to have been quoted in both the records of Madhyamarāja. This had induced scholars to believe that the epithet found in the charters of the son and grandson of Mādhavavarman II was also applied to all the kings of the dynasty and all of them bore Mādhavendra and Mādhavavarman as a secondary name. But the verse seems to have been quoted from predecessor's charter quite unintentionally, rather carelessly, only to introduce the predecessors of the reigning king, as in the case with other subsequent verses which are also quoted from earlier grants. As for example, the third verse of the present grant under discussion of Madhyamarāja, introducing mount Mahendra as the *kulagiri*, seems to have been copied from the Cuttack Museum plates of Mādhavavarman II. Verses 4-12 of the charter are common to all the later records of Mādhavavarman II as well as his successors, dealing with the fabricated origin and the genealogy of the predecessors of Mādhyamarāja. Verses 13-20 of this record which are also found in his Parikud grant, describe the career and achievements of this king. These eight verses are again found quoted in his successor's records. The language of these verses are found very much corrupt in both of his grants when compared to other verses referring to his predecessors.

The royal seal attached to his Banpur plates contains the legend *Śrī-Madhyamarājaḥ* and the emblem of a couchant bull facing proper right. The palaeography, language and orthography of this inscription closely resemble his Parikud charter. This second grant was issued from Kaṭaka though the reading of the name is doubtful due to the corrupt nature of the plate. But the gift village is again stated to have been situated in Kaṭakabhukti-*viṣaya*. Some scholars identify the locality with the modern town of Cuttack situated on the Mahānadī delta. On the basis of this assumption they have attempted to stretch the northern boundary of the kingdom of Koṅgoda-maṇḍala as far as the lower valley of the Mahānadī river.[38] It is now a well known fact that the present locality of Cuttack was established a long time after the decline of the Śailodbhavas, during the period of the rule of the imperial line of the Gaṅga dynasty in about the Śaka year 1152 (c. 1230 A.D.), as known from the epigraphic records. It has been rightly identified by S.C. Behera with the region around Purushottampur-Jaugaḍa in the Ganjam district.[39] The locality of Pūrvakhaṇḍa, the division in which the gift village is stated to have been situated, thus evidently be identified with the region round Purushottampur situated on the east of Aska town in the same district and is known by the same name till today. It is also known to have been on the eastern side of the river called Baḍanai or Baḍanadī or the ancient Mahānadī of the Māṭhara records, of the earlier period. Unfortunately, the name of the gift village is lost in the copper plate due to corrosion. The date of the charter is given in the regnal year 26 of the king, written in words which is repeated in numerical signs at the end of the record, though they are very much obliterated. The predigree of the Śailodbhava kings furnished by these two grants of Madhyamaraja may thus be arranged in a tabular form :



This king has also been credited in his own grants to have performed *Aśvamedha* and other sacrifices. Like his father he is stated to have taken the *avabhṛtha* bath in connection with the celebration of these sacrifices. A separate passage in both of his records, ascribing the celebration of sacrifices to this king would tend to indicate that Madhyamarāja ruled the kingdom with peace and prosperity, at least for 26 years and without any political disturbance. Nothing is known, however, regarding his political activities from these charters. He is described as a devout worshipper of god Śiva which is corroborated by the Śaivite symbol adopted in the seal attached to his charter.

Madhyamarāja ruled upto about the end of 7th century A.D. It is to be noted that unlike the later charters of his father, containing versified introduction of the officers associated with the execution of the grants, his own records introduce such officers in prose. The same practice seems to have been followed by his successors as known from the subsequent records of his family. The name of the engraver of the Parikud plates of this king has been doubtfully read as Dṛḍḍha or Dṛddha being the last part of his name. The correct name of the person seems to be Sthaviravṛddha, who was also the engraver of many of the copper plate charters of Madhyamarāja's son and successor. Moreover, the close resemblance in the letters engraved in all these grants of Madhyamarāja and his son would also corroborate the supposition.

Madhyamarāja-Ayaśobhita II was succeeded to the throne of Koṅgoda-maṇḍala by his son Dharmarāja. This king is known from his six copper plate records. They reveal that he had the secondary or coronation name of Mānabhīta. Moreover, they indicate important information on the political events that took place during the accession of this king. His earliest record is the Ranpur grant[40] issued during his third regnal year from a locality called Mātṛcandra-*pāṭaka*. The name Mātṛcandra seems to be very popular in the Kaliṅga region since earlier times. A person named Mātṛvara was associated with several copper plate grants of the Māṭharas and the Pitṛbhaktas of about 5th century A.D.[41]. A localilty or *pāṭaka* may have been created by naming it after this person. Besides, there are references to one Mātṛcandra, the father of a writer of several early Eastern Gaṅga copper plate records during the last part of the 7th century A.D.[42] The locality seems to have been situated in the region of northern Kaliṅga, i.e., in the Ganjam area, comprising later the kingdom of Koṅgoda-maṇḍala of the Śailodbhavas.

All the six charters of Dharmarāja contain merely the selection of introductory verses referring to the legendary origin of the Śailodbhava dynasty and the predecessors of the king copied from his predecessors' grants. Only some new verses describing the achievements of Dharmarāja have been added in these records. One of these verses which is found quoted in all of his six charters, give us a valuable historical information indicating the political condition of the period and the Śailodbhava kingdom at the time of Dharmarāja's accession to the throne of Koṅgoda. According to this verse, the reigning king Dharmarāja had an elder brother named Mādhava, but the king's claim in his records is that, his brother had ill will against him and tried to usurp the throne of Koṅgoda. The revolting Mādhava was defeated by Dharmarāja in the battlefield named Phāsikā. Mādhava then fled away and took shelter under a king named Tīvara. But Dharmarāja claims in this verse to have defeated and killed both Tīvara and Mādhava in a battle fought at the foot of the Vindhyas. The verse would clearly indicate that Dharmarāja was the younger brother of Mādhava though scholars have taken Mādhava to be the younger brother. The name Mādhava would evidently indicate that he was named after his grandfather Mādhavavarman II. The conventional practice of adopting grandfather's name by the reigning kings, especially the eldest son or the legitimate heir of the king in the family of the Śailodbhavas from the very beginning of their rule is to be noted. Mādhava was obviously the lawful heir to the throne of Koṅgoda as he was the eldest son of his father Madhyamarāja-Ayaśobhīta II. The verse would tend to indicate that soon after the death of Ayaśobhīta II there followed a fratricidal war between his two sons, Mādhava who may be taken as Mādhavavarman III and his younger brother Dharmarāja-Mānabhīta. But Mādhava, probably proved to be a weak ruler who could not resist Dharmarāja in this war of succession. Thus, with the end of Madhyamarāja's rule, the main line of the Śailodbhava dynasty started by Mādhavavarman II came to an end in Koṅgoda-maṇḍala. Dharmarāja, however, proved to be powerful who took the opportunity of the weakness of Mādhavavarman III. Though he made a coup, he seems to have maintained the sovereignty of the kingdom throughout his period of rule as revealed by his copper plate grants. Besides his grandfather, he was the second known ruler of the dynasty to have issued the maximum number of copper plate grants.

Scholars are of divergent views on the identification of Tīvara mentioned in the copper plate grants of Dharmarāja-Mānabhīta who is stated to have supported the cause of Mādhava in the war of succession.[43] He may be identical with the father of Mahānannarāja bearing the name Tīvara in his Adhabhara copper plate grant.[44] He has been described in this record as the "one who has secured the lordship of territories including the entire Kosala and Utkala by the prowess of his own arms" (*sva-bhuja-parākram-opārjita-sakala-Kosal-Otkal-ādi-maṇḍala-ādhipatya*). The inscription indicates that this Tīvara was ruling over a territory near the Vindhyas during the last quarter of the 7th century A.D. as well as the corresponding part of the 8th century. His epithet mentioned above would tend to indicate that he had political influence at least over a portion of Utkala for somtime. Utkala, as we know, during this period denoted the coastal districts of northern Orissa, comprising the present districts of Balasore, Dhenkanal, Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar and Cuttack up to the river Mahānadī. The region was also known as Uttara Tosali. During this period Tīvara must have come into contact with the politics of Koṅgoda-maṇḍala. There is reason to believe that he took the opportunity of the chaotic condition of parts of northern Orissa (Utkala) after Harṣa's death and might have extended his power at least for a few years, when the Śailodbhavas had established their supremacy over Koṅgoda in the southern part of Orissa. It may be pointed out here that during this period the Bhauma-karas were also steadily rising to power in the northern part of Orissa when Mādhava or Mādhavavarman III became entangled in the fratricidal war for the throne of Koṅgoda-maṇḍala, and sought the support of Tīvara who also must have come into conflict with the Bhauma-karas. It seems possible that Dharmarāja-Mānabhīta had a political alliance with the Bhauma-karas of Utkala and Tosali who were instrumental in driving away Tīvara from the region of Utkala along with Mādhava to the region of the Vindhyas, the original seat of Tīvara.

Dharmarāja assumed the secondary or coronation name of Mānabhīta, presumably after he captured the throne of Koṅgoda. The name of Dharmarāja nor Mānabhīta assumed by any other ruler of the dynasty are to be found in the genealogical list furnished by the Śailodbhava records. The Sumandala charter of the time of Pṛthivīvigraha is, however, known to have been issued by one Dharmarāja of Abhaya family. But he is presumed to be a remote ancestor of the Śailodbhavas who is now known to have flourished

during the period when the dynastic name 'Śailodbhava' was unknown to the family.

Dharmarāja ruled for a period of at least 30 years as is known from his latest dated grant of 30th regnal year[45]. All the grants of this king are dated in his regnal years. He is known to have issued all the six charters from different places but not from Koṅgoda which was the chief city during the rule of his predecessors. Two of his charters, Puri[46] and Ranpur[47] plates, dated in his 3rd and 12th regnal years respectively were issued from the victorious Mātṛcandra-*pāṭaka*. His Nivina grant[48] was issued from a locality read as Alatālaṅghapura. The Banpur grant[49] was issued from the locality called Āsilida. The Chandeswar grant[50] was issued from the royal residence at Kontalayi and his Koṇḍenda grant from his victorious residence at Saumyapura. Unfortunately, none of these localities have been satisfactorily identified. S.C. Behera, however, tried to identify[51] Altālaṅghapura with a locality called Loṅghara, situated at a distance of about one and half kilometres from Khallikote Railway station in the Ganjam district. All these places appear to be temporary residences of the king. Frequent reference to Koṅgoda as the chief city of the Śailodbhava kingdom in the records of his predecessors is conspicuous by its absence in the charters of Dharmarāja.

Out of the six copper plate grants of Dharmarāja, four were engraved by Sthaviravṛddha, the same person who engraved the Parikud charter of his father. The name of the person which literally means 'too old' seems to be not the actual one. The presumption is corroborated by the fact that he continued to serve the royal family since the days of his father. The remaining Banpur charter was engraved by Ādityadeva, designated as *Akṣaśālin* while the engraver of the Nivina charter of this king was Chaḍḍibhogin. The name of the engraver in the last mentioned charter has been doubtfully read as Chaḍḍibhaya, though the correct name should be Chaḍḍibhogin who is no other than the same person mentioned in the Buguda and Purushottampur plates of Mādhavavarman II, the grandfather of Dharmarāja. Curiously enough, the letters of the Buguda plates of Mādhavavarman II and the Nivina plates of Dharmarāja which are akin to each other, do not tally with the letters of the other plates of Mādhavavarman engraved by Chaḍḍibhogin. It is already discussed above that the Buguda plates of Mādhavavarman were later engraved by Durgadeva of the time of

Neṭṭabhañja of the Bhañja dynasty. The Nivina grant of Dharmarāja, similarly, was re-engraved at a later date as its palaeography shows close resemblance with those found in the grants of Neṭṭabhañja and Vidyādharabhañja of the Bhañja family. The distinction between the script used in this grant and the rest of the grants of Dharmarāja has not been emphasised earlier due to oversight. Every letter in it belongs to a far later date and they point to those prevalent in about 10th century A.D. Moreover, the record has the general appearance of being fabricated at a later date. It seems to have been a mixed copy of the introductory verses from the charters of Mādhavavarman-II as well as Dharmarāja's other records. The drafting of the passage dealing with the grant portion and specification of boundaries of the village is so defective due to corrupt language and spellings that it is not possible to make out the real meaning of the words. The concluding portion containing the names of the officers associated with the execution of the grant seems to have been copied partly from a grant of Mādhavavarman II and partly from that of a charter of Dharmarāja. All the other records of Dharmarāja refer to the *dūtaka* or the executor of the grant and unlike the records of his grandfather, the officers are mentioned in a prose passage. But in the case of Nivina grant it is observed that the scribe has attempted to copy the names of the officers from a draft of Mādhavavarman's records as the expression *tanaya* after *mahākṣapaṭala....deva* which is in verse, would tend to indicate. The second foot of a verse found at the end of Mādhavavarman's record has been copied here which is written thus :

lāñchitaṁ Jayasiṁhena utkīrṇaṁ (c-otkīrṇam) Chaḍḍibhoginā.

The first foot of the verse in the grants of his grandfather reads:

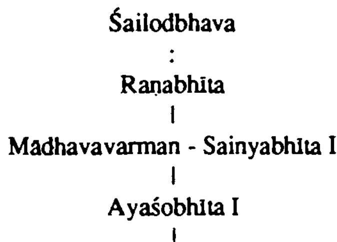
likhit-Opendrasiṁhena tanaya Kuṇḍabhoginaḥ which is conspicuously found omitted in this charter of Dharmarāja. Thus the name of the writer and the real engraver of the charter are not given here. It may be pointed out here that Jayasiṁha affixed the seal in all the charters of Mādhavavarman II as well as the engraver Chaḍḍibhogin are not found in any other extant charters of Dharmarāja. There is also no reason to believe that these two persons were different than those mentioned in the records of his grandfather as there is a long gap of time between the two kings of the dynasty. This incomplete stanza was undoubtedly copied from the king's predecessor's records and which seems to be a deliberate attempt to forge the document at a later date.

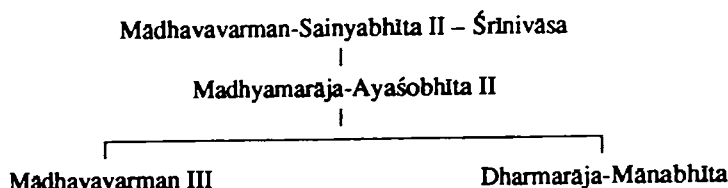
This is corroborated by another discrepancy found in the record under discussion. The number of year in the date portion of the record after the word *samvat* has been either deliberately or through inadvertance omitted by the engraver. Further, the word *samvat*, and the occasion of the grant have been incised before the imprecatory and benedictory verses and along with the description of the boundaries of the gift land which is not usually found in other records of Dharmarāja. All of his records mention the date at the end of the documents. The name of the month and fortnight have also been mentioned in an unusual manner, giving us the impression of being fabricated later. After the name of the month Vaiśākha, the bright fortnight of the month has been written as *śudi* and again it is written as *prathama pakṣa* or the first fortnight (or the bright fortnight, according to the *Amānta* system prevalent in the southern part of the country) and then the day is given as the second day of the said fortnight. The sign for final *t* of the word *samvat* has, however, been mistaken for the numerical symbol for 9 by the editor of the grant. It seems likely that the portion enumerating the grant of land in the village Nivina situated in the district of Khiṇḍiṅgahāra as well as the specification of the boundaries of the gift land which is hopelessly unintelligible, were fabricated while copying out the grant by the unknown engraver. Though at the present state, it may be presumed the authenticity of the localities mentioned, it cannot be said with certainty if the name of the donee was fabricated.

The above observations on the Nivina grant of Dharmarāja would tend to suggest its spuriousness, possibly forged during the reign of the Bhañja kings in about 10th century A.D. when they occupied a part of the kingdom of Koṅgoda in the Ganjam region. Instances are not rare in the early Indian history regarding forgery of documents especially for the purpose of establishing one's title to a plot of land. The alleged spuriousness of the Nalanda and Gaya plates of Samudragupta is already known to scholars.[52] The very marked badness of the orthography in the passage relating to the grant of land and the specification of the boundaries, portion of the text bodily misplaced in line 47, the mixed up content would tend to indicate its spuriousness. It is not improbable that the Nivina charter was fabricated in order to legitimise the claim of the donee whose name has been mentioned in the grant, over the land specified.

The religious epithet borne by Dharmarāja was *Paramamāheśvara*, a devout worshippper of lord Śiva, unlike his grandfather, whose only one grant revealed that he had the title of *paramabrahmaṇya* when he was a feudatory of Śaśāṅka. It is, however, known from the royal seals attached to the grants of the Śailodbhavas that they were Śaivites. Ayaśobhīta II is also known to have assumed the title of *paramamāheśvara*. It is interesting to note that the Nivina grant of Dharmarāja unlike his other grants, omits this title and instead, mentions the epithet of *parameśvara* for the king. It is also to be noted that the king in this grant has been endowed with the royal epithets of *paramabhaṭṭāraka, mahārājādhirāja* and *parameśvara* which are conspicuous by their absence in other grants of the same king as well as in his predecessor's grants. The practice of using these epithets is frequently met with in the records of about 10th century and onwards. Absence of these epithets is a common feature of the Śailodbhava records. The royal seal attached to the Nivina charter, according to the editor of the grant, presumed to have contained the legend *Srī-Mānabhītasya*, though it is stated to be a corroded one.

There is a reference to a road named after Dharmarāja in a copper plate charter of Sāmantavarman of the Śvetaka branch of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty[53] which is stated to have led to Kaliṅga. This Dharmarāja has been taken by scholars to be the Śailodbhava king of the same name. Provenance of this record is a locality called Kamā-Nalinakṣapur, situated in the vicinity of Jaugaḍa-Purushottampur in the Ganjam district. The region is known to have been earlier included in the kingdom of the Śailodbhavas. This would evidently make us believe that the road was constructed in the name of Dharmarāja, the Śailodbhava king. But nothing can be said with certainty in the absence of any other corroborative evidence. The genealogy of the dynasty as furnished by the copper plate charter of Dharmarāja as well as his predecessors may be reconstructed as follows :





We do not have any record of the successor of Dharmarāja-Mānabhīta excepting a stray copper plate grant of one Madhyamarāja[54]. This incomplete charter, however, sheds considerable light on the last days of the Śailodbhavas in the Ganjam region. The forces of disintegration were already active during the last days of Dharmarāja's rule, as is evidenced from this stray grant. It furnishes a genealogy of the later Śailodbhavas from the time of Dharmarāja. This stray plate forms the middle plate of a set of three, the first and the third plates are lost now. Some known verses of the Śailodbhava grants and the known kings of this family mentioned in this plate enable us to take the plate as to have belonged to the Śailodbhava dynasty. The record is known to have been found in Tekkali region (now in Andhra Pradesh). It is not possible to know the place of issue of the record due to its stray nature. It, however, states that Dharmarāja-Mānabhita was succeeded by his son named Madhyamarāja, having the secondary name Ayaśobhīta. Thus he seems to be the third ruler bearing the coronation name of Ayaśobhīta in the genealogical history of this dynasty. He is also stated to have assumed the epithet of Raṇa-kṣobha. It is stated in this grant that Madhyamarāja who may be taken to be Madhyamarāja II-Ayaśobhīta III, had no son to succeed to the throne of Koṅgoda. He had a cousin brother, a son of his uncle (pitṛvya) named Allaparāja. Evidently, this Allaparāja was the son of Mādhava or Mādhavavarman III, the deceased brother of Dharmarāja-Mānabhita who was defeated and killed at the foot of the Vindhyas. Allaparāja is stated in this grant to have had a son named Tailapanibha, the crown prince (*yuvarāja*). We have no evidence to show if this Allaparāja ever ascended to the throne of Koṅgoda and also his son Tailapanibha. Possibly they died a premature death. Madhyamarāja III seems to be a son of Tailapanibha and issued this charter. Unfortunately, this stray record does not furnish anything about the area of rule by these latter members of the Śailodbhava family, nor the extent of the kingdom during the rule of Madhyamarāja III. The name of Koṅgoda is not found in this incomplete record, nor the place of its issue. Only a few

verses from the records of Dharmarāja-Mānabhīta have been found quoted in this grant which enable us to attribute it to the Śailodbhava family. It furnishes a genealogy which is continued from Dharmarāja up to Madhyamarāja III. It is further known from this record that Madhyamarā III ascended the throne at his very boyhood, but it cannot be said with certainty how long he continued to rule. The record would make us believe that the kingdom which had been very much circumscribed after the rule of Dharmarāja, again passed over to the descendants of Mādhava or Mādhavavarman III who belonged to the main branch of the Śailodbhava dynasty. Thus the genealogy of the Śailodbhava kings obtained from all these records would stand as follows :-



Dharmarāja-Mānabhīta possibly ended his rule sometime during 726-27 A.D. , if we take the date mentioned in his last known grant (Kondedda grant) to be correct. His son Madhyamarāja II, though assumed the coronation name Ayaśobhīta III, perhaps did not rule for long as the political condition of the region during this period would tend to suggest. It seems, nor Madhyamarāja III, the last known king of the dynasty, also could have resisted against the forces of disintegration. Possibly, during this period, the kingdom of Koṅgoda-maṇḍala was annexed to the dominions of the Bhauma-Karas who were then steadily gaining ground in the northern parts of Orissa. They are

known to have started an era of their own which has now been proved to have commenced from about A.D. 736-37. Kongoda-maṇḍala, at first seems to have become a part of the kingdom of Śvetaka branch of the Estern Gaṅga family which was for sometime under the control of the Bhauma-Kara king Unmattakeśari ruling from Virajā or the present Jajpur in the Cuttack district. This is known from a copper plate grant of the Gaṅga king Jayavarmadeva of Śvetaka, issued in *samvat*[50] When Unmattakeśari was ruling from Virajā. The kingdom of Śvetaka, with its headquarters bearing the same name, comprised Aska, Dharakote and Chikiti regions of the Ganjam district on the left bank of the present Badanai (or the ancient Mahānadl) and contiguous to the kingdom of the Śailodbhavas. The capital of Śvetaka has been identified with the present locality of Chikiti in the Ganjam district. The unspecified era mentioned in the charter of Jayavarmadeva has been taken to be the era introduced by the Bhauma-Karas, corresponding to A.D. 786-87[55]. The record refers to a king named *Rāṇaka* Viṣavārṇava who was installed as a feudatory in charge of administration of Kongoda-maṇḍala. It is known to have continued as a *maṇḍala* or province under the control of the Bhauma-Karas till the end of their rule. References to this *maṇḍala* are frequently met with in the records of the Bhauma-Karas[56] and is known to have been governed by a feudatory king all along. After the decline of the Bhauma kingdom during about the first half of the 10th century, the province of Kongoda-maṇḍala passed into the hands of the Somavaṁśis of Kosala and Utkala[57]. The latest reference to Kongoda-maṇḍala is found in the Banpur grant of the Somavaṁśin king Indraratha, wherein the king is stated to have made a grant of land situated in this *maṇḍala*[58]. After the downfall of the Somavaṁśins, the name of Kongoda-maṇḍala lost into oblivion.

Thus it is evidenced from the above discussion that by the year 730 A.D. the downfall the Śailodbhavas was already imminent after the death of Dharmarāja-Mānabhlta and by the middle of the third decade of the 8th century they were completely annihilated by the Bhauma-Karas of Tosali who had installed their own feudal chiefs in the region previously ruled by the Śailodbhavas.

The chief city or the capital of the Śailodbhavas during the early period of their rule was called Kongoda, presumably named after the kingdom they ruled. The Ganjam grant of Mādhavarāja II issued from this city, gives a

picturesque description of it. It is stated to have been situated on the bank of the river called Sālimā. The river had been identified with the present Sāliā running past the township of Banpur in the Puri district and falls into the Chilka lake. Banpur is situated only four kilometres away towards the north-west of this lake. The township is now noted for several ancient temples and sculptures and other antiquities of great historical importance. It has also yielded quite a good number of copper plate records of the Śailodbhavas, the Bhauma-Karas[59] as well as the Somavaṁśis.[60] Besides, the present township of Banpur and the area around it is full of archaeological remains ranging from about 7th century A.D. to the medieval times. Hiuen-Tsang's description of the capital of Koṅgoda states that it "is about 20 *li* in circuit which borders on a bay" (angle of the sea)[61]. The bay here obviously denotes the Chilka lake. Hiuen-Tsang's description of the capital of the Śailodbhavas admirably points to the location of the township of Banpur, though some scholars are induced to identify Koṅgoda with the recently discovered temple site at Baṅkāḍa at the foot of the hill of the same name in the Puri district which is situated at a distance of about 25 miles from Banpur and the Chilka lake. Though the site is near the Sāliā river, it does not suit the description of the Chinese pilgrim. Rather, the town of Banpur in the case of other townships like Bhubaneswar or Jajpur, would give us the impression with all its archaeological remains that the locality continued to flourish for a long time, since at least from the time of the Śailodbhavas.

The Cuttack Museum plates of Mādhavavarman II, the Parikud plates of his son Madhyamarāja-Ayaśobhīta II as well as the records of Dharmarāja-Mānabhīta refer to a land measure called *ṭimpira* or *ṭimpira*, known to have been prevalent in different parts of the kingdom of Koṅgoda-maṇḍala. Its reference has been noticed in a charter of Śambhayaśas, the Mudgala ruler of both the Tosalis of earlier period, discovered from the northern part of Orissa[62]. But its frequent reference in the grants of the Śailodbhavas would indicate that the land measure was more popular in the southern part of Orissa during 7th and 8th centuries of the Christian era. The expression indicating the unit of land measure is, however, of uncertain origin. It seems to have been prevalent in the region comprising the northern part of the Ganjam district together with a part of the Puri district around the Chilka lake. Earlier, this region, as known from the records of Śambhuyaśas and his times, was included in the kingdom of the Mudgalas during about 603 A.D.[63] The

contemporary records found in other parts of Orissa are silent about this land measure, with the exception of the grant of Śambhuyaśas issued from Balasore region. The early rulers of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty of Kaliṅganagara who are known to have been ruling contemporaneously in the southern Ganjam and Srikakulam districts, have not referred to this land measure in their epigraphic records. It seems to have been originally confined to the region of Koṅgoda-maṇḍala which was introduced in the region of northern Tosali by Śambhuyaśas for sometime, though it became obsolete there with the end of his rule. The Śailodbhavas continued to follow this land measure as long as they ruled Koṅgoda-maṇḍala as revealed by their epigraphs. The Cuttack Museum plates of Mādhavavarman II refer to 23 *timpiras* of land to 24 Brāhmaṇas. The Parikud plates of his son refer to 12 *timpiras* of land donated to 12 number of Brāhmaṇas of different *gotras*, each Brāhmaṇa receiving one *timpira* of land.

As many as ten divisions or districts (*viṣaya*) of Koṅgoda-maṇḍala are known from the inscriptions of the Śailodbhavas. Their identification would tentatively determine the extension of the kingdom. The *viṣaya* or the district called Kṛṣṇagiri mentioned in the Ganjam record of Mādhavarāja II was obviously named after the hill of the same name situated at a distance of about 18 miles from the present township of Khallikote in the Ganjam district. The area around the hill formed a district during the Śailodbhavas. Several archaeological remains including old caves and temples have been found at the foot of the hill of which a Śaivite temple complex consisting of about twelve ruined temples is noteworthy. The gift village Chavalakkhaya situated in this district has been identified with the present locality of Chailu in the Khallikote Tahsil[64].

Reference to the *viṣaya* called Thoraṇa has been found in a number of copper plate charters of the Śailodbhava kings. The Khurda and Puri plates of Mādhavavarman and the Banpur grant of his grandson refer to this locality as a *viṣaya* or district. The area around the present locality of Soraṇa near Banpur in the Puri district has been identified with this *viṣaya*. The villages stated in these grants to have situated in this *viṣaya* cannot be definitely identified with their present locations though scholars have attempted in this regard[65].

The *viṣaya* called Guḍḍa found in the Buguda charter of Mādhavavarman II is obviously the area around the present township of Buguda in the Ganjam district. The *pāṭaka* called Khadira-*pāṭaka* indicating a division of the said *viṣaya* has been mentioned in the record to have comprised the gift village Puipiṇo. Khadira-pāṭaka has been identified with the modern Khairapuṭi situated about five kms to the north of Buguda.

Devagrāma-*viṣaya* mentioned in the Purushottampur plates of Mādhavavarman II has been taken to be the same as modern Degam in the Kodala Tahsil of Ganjam. Jayapura *viṣaya* of the Cuttack Museum plates is the area around the locality bearing the same name and situated on the bank of the river Ṛṣikulyā near Purushottampur in the Ganjam district. The locality is also found mentioned as Jayakaṭaka *viṣaya* in the Dharakote charter of Śubhākaradeva[66] of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty which succeeded the Śailodbhavas in the region during the subsequent period of history.

Kaṭakabhukti *viṣaya* has so far been taken to be the present city of Cuttack. But it has already been pointed out that the present city of Cuttack was founded much later, during about Śaka year 1152 (A.D. 1230-31). The record probably meant the locality called Jayakaṭaka or the same Jayapura on the eastern bank of Ṛṣikulyā river mentioned in the Cuttack Museum plates. Pūrvakhaṇḍa, stated to have been included in this *viṣaya*, in the Parikud grant of Madhyamarāja Ayaśobhīta II is still known by the same name, which comprised the area around Purushottampur on the eastern bank of the river Ṛṣikulyā in the Ganjam district.

Some of the *viṣayas* and other divisions mentioned in the Śailodbhava charters could not be identified due to defective reading of the texts and also due to the bad preservation of the copper plates. The district name read as Kirātatalaka in the Chandeswar plates of Dharmarāja Mānabhīta has remained unidentified due to the doubtful reading of the name. Though the reading of the *viṣaya* called Tanekaṇḍrā mentioned in the Ranpur grant of Dharmarāja is doubtful, it has been tentatively identified with Kaṇḍarāṣiṅgi or Keraṇḍa-Tāṅgi near Ranpur in Puri district.[67] The gift village called Usavāṭaka has been accordingly identified with the present Ustapaḍā near Ranpur in the same district and which is also reported to be the find spot of the said charter.

The Nivina and Kondedda charters of Dharmarāja Mānabhīta mention the *viṣaya* named Khiṇḍiṅgahāra which has been identified with the present village of Khiḍiṅgi in the Kodala *taluk* of the Ganjam district. The gift village Nivina is the same as the present Nimina, situated in the same area and which is also the find spot of the record of Dharmarāja. The *viṣaya* was included in the kingdom of Koṅgoda since the time of Charamparāja. It has been found mentioned in a number of copper plate records of the subsequent period,[68] particularly in the records of the Bhauma-Karas. The Kumurang charter of Daṇḍimahādevī of the Bhauma-Kara family corroborates the fact that Khiṇḍiṅgahāra formed a *viṣaya* of Koṅgoda-maṇḍala and included in the Bhauma kingdom.[69]

The Puri plates of Dharmarāja refers to Vartini *viṣaya* which is the present locality bearing the same name situated in the Athgarh *taluk* of the Ganjam district. The same *viṣaya* is found in the Patiakela grant of Śivarāja, the feudatory of the Mudgala king Śambhuyaśas.[70] During his time, the region comprising this *viṣaya* was called Dakṣina Tosali. The area around the said *viṣaya* is of great archaeological interest. Several copper plate inscriptions of the subsequent period of history have been discovered in this region which include those of the Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala and different branches of the Gaṅga dynasty of Kaliṅga.[71] Besides, there are ruins of ancient temples attributed to early medieval period.

The records of the Śailodbhavas would make us believe that the mount Mahendra described as the *kulagiri* marked the southern boundary of Koṅgoda. Hiuen-Tsang refers to the kingdom as "bordering on a bay". The epigraphic records also corroborate this statement that the eastern boundary of the kingdom was the Bay of Bengal and the Chilka lake. The localities mentioned in the copper plate grants would tend to suggest that the south-western boundary of the kingdom was the river Ṛṣikulyā. To the south of this river was the hilly tract of Śvetaka, comprising the present Chatrapur-Chikiti region, the kingdom of one of the branches of the early Eastern Gaṅgas. It was the south-western frontier of the kingdom of Koṅgoda-maṇḍala. The western boundary of this kingdom was the present Baḍanadī or the Mahānadī of the earlier times which joins the Ṛṣikulyā near Bhanjanagar. The western bank of this river comprised a separate kingdom, subsequently known as Khiñjali-maṇḍala, the kingdom of the Bhañjas. The northern part of Puri

district up to at least Khurda subdivision formed the northern boundary of Kongoda. Thus the region round the Chilka lake comprising the two districts of Puri and Ganjam was the kingdom of the Śailodbhavas.

Scholars have tried to correlate the Śailodbhavas of Kongoda with the Śailendra dynasty which established a powerful empire in the Malay Peninsula and Malay Archipelago in the 8th century A.D. It is believed that the Śailodbhavas probably migrated from Kongoda and established a new empire with the dynasty named Śailendra.[72] Some scholars have even attempted to connect the Śailodbhavas with the royal family called Śailavaṁśa who established a kingdom in the region around the Balaghat district in Madhya Pradesh. The kings of this family are stated to have lived originally in the Kailas region and later came to be known as the 'lords of the Vindhyas,[73] This hypothesis is also equally lacking definite evidence.

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3. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79 ff.
4. Only one copper plate record of this king is known to have been discovered so far, see, S.N. Rajaguru, Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol. II, pp. 32-39.
5. *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 285-88; the *viṣaya* or the district has been described as Vortanoka in this epigraph which is mentioned in the Śvetaka Gaṅga records as Vartini-*viṣaya* at a later period. Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XII, pp. 489-93, the *viṣaya* is stated to have been situated in Kongoda-maṇḍala.
6. *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 143-46 and plate; S.N. Rajaguru, *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. I, Part. ii, pp. 157-66ff.
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8. *EI*, Vol. III, pp, 41ff; Vol. VII, pp. 100ff and plate; S.N. Rajaguru, *IO*, Vol. I, part ii, pp. 166-72.
9. *EI*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 264-68 and plate; OHRJ, Vol. II (Nos. 3 & 4), pp. 6-22; S.N. Rajguru, *IO*, Vol. I, Part, ii, pp. 173-77.
10. EI, Vol. III, 122-31 and plate; S.N. Rajaguri, *IO*, Vol. I, Part. ii, pp. 178-85.
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13. *Ibid.*, pp. 329ff and plate.
14. S.C. Behera, *Rise and Fall of the Śailodbhavas*, pp. 58-59.
15. *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 143-46.
16. Samuel Beal, *Life of Yuan Chwang*, p. 159; p. 172; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, pp. 197-98.
17. *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 1ff.
18. *IA*, Vol. XIII, pp. 120-23ff; S.N. Rajaguru, *IO*, Vol. II, pp. 43ff.
19. *EI*, Vol. XXIX, p. 35 and note 2.
20. *Ibid*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 122-31.
21. *EI*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 216-20; *IA*, Vol. XIII, pp. 120-24; *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 360-63; Vol. XVIII, pp. 307-11 ff, etc.
22. *EI*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 132-35.
23. *JAHRS*, Vol. X, pp. 62-67; Vol. XVII, pp. 330-34ff.
25. *Ibid*, Vol. III, pp. 41.
26. *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 290ff and plate.
27. *Ibid*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 173ff and plate.
28. S.N. Rajaguru, *IO*, Vol. I, part. II, pp.
29. See Plate No.
30. The name of some of these officers mentioned in this record are also found in other extant records of this Bhañja king. *See*, S. Tripathy, *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. VI, pp. 171-75.
31. See Plate No. 11
32. *EI*, Vol. XXIV, p. 150; S.C. Behera, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 82-83; S.N. Rajaguru, *IO*, Vol. I Part, ii. p. 260.
33. *JAHRS*, Vol. X, pp. 1-15.
34. *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, (1884), pp. 206-07.
35. *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, (1905), pp. 196-99.
36. *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 178.
37. The Banpur grant, *EI*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 33-38 and plate; and the Parikud plates, *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 281 ff and plate.
38. *JAHRS*, Vol. X, pp. 1-15.
39. S.C. Behera, Op. Cit, p. 23.
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45. *Ibid*, Vol. XIX, pp. 265 ff.
46. *JBORS*, Vol. XVI, (1930) pp. 176 ff.
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52. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 262-66 ff.
53. *OHRJ*,Vol. III (No. 2), pp. 86-90; S.N. Rajaguru, *IO*, Vol. II, pp. 318 ff.
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55. *IHQ*, Vol. XII, pp. 489-93; the reading of the date in this grant is doubtful though it is certain that Kongoda was by that time included in the Bhauma-Kara kingdom.
56. *JAHRS*, Vol. IV, pp. 189-94; *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 133 ff; B. Misra, *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 60-67.
57. *JBORS*, Vol. II, part. i, (1916), pp. 53 ff.
58. *JASB* (Letters), Vol. VIII (1966), No. 4, pp. 271-76ff.
59. *JBORS*, Vol. V, P. 571 ff.
60. Op. Cit. pp. 271-76 ff.
61. Samuel Beal, *Buddhist Record of the Western World*, (1884), pp. 206-7; Watters, Vol. II, pp. 196-97 ff.
62. *EI*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 199-202 ff.
63. *Ibid*, Vol. IX, pp. 286-88 ff.
64. *IHQ*, Vol. VII, (1931), p. 665.
65. S.C. Behera, Op. Cit. p. 21.
66. *JAHRS*, Vol. IV, (1930), pp. 189-94 ff.
67. S.C. Behera, Op. Cit. p. 23.
68. The *viṣaya* and its contiguous areas seem to have formed a principality known as Khiṇḍiraśṛṅga-maṇḍala and ruled by the kings named Bhīmasena and Narendradhavala of a later Nala family, during about the first part of the 11th century A.D. See, *OHRJ*, Vol. VI, (No. 1), pp. 11 ff; Vol. XXII, pp. 53-57 ff.
69. *JBORS*, Vol. V, part IV, pp. 564-81 ff.
70. *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 285-88 ff.
71. *Ibid*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 15-20 ff; S. Tripathy, *Inscription of Orissa*, Vol. VI, pp. 215-19; *JAHRS*, Vol. III, pp. 30 ff; *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 63ff.
72. *History & Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. III, p. 147.
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26

ORIGIN OF THE BHAUMA-KARA DYNASTY OF ORISSA

S.C. DE

Scholars are divided on the question of origin of the Bhuma-Kara dynasty of Orissa. Scholars like late Binayak Misra,[1] R.C. Majumdar[2] and N.K. Sahu[3] are of the view that the Bhuma-Karas belonged to Orissa and the dynasty is indigenous. Others like late K.C. Panigrahi[4], K.L. Barua[5] and P.C. Chaudhaari[6] believe that the Bhauma-Kara dynasty of Orissa is a branch of the Assam Bhauma dynasty. According to B.Misra the Bhauma-Karas are Mahendra Bhaumas mentioned in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa who were under the rule of Guha along with the people of Kaliṅga and the Mahiṣaka. But in the Vāyu Purāṇa, Mārkaṇḍeya and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas there is no mention of Mahendra Bhauma ; in its place "Mahendra Nilaya" is mentioned. Further, Misra points out that Guheśvara-pāṭaka the capital of the Bhauma-Karas was so named in honour of Guha who was the original progenitor or ruler of the Mahendra Bhaumas.

The above theory seems unacceptable on account of the following facts :

1. Mahendra Bhauma is mentioned only in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa while three other Purāṇas mentioned above do not mention it.

2. There is absolutely no mention of Mahendra mountain in any of the records of the Bhauma-Kara kings.

Dr. Panigrahi takes the Bhauma-Karas of Orissa as a branch of the Assamese Bhauma dynasty in consideration of the following facts :

1. There is mention of Bhagadatta, the ancestor of the Assam Bhauma dynasty in the records of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty of Orissa.

2. According to the Paśupati temple inscription, Śrī-Harṣa of Bhagadatta family of Kāmarūpa conquered Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kaliṅga and Kosala. Dr. Panigrahi assigns the beginning of the reign of Śrī-Harṣa to c. 728 A.D. He is of the view that "Śrī-Harṣa's family and the Bhauma-Karas of Orissa originally belonged to the same vigorous non-Aryan race"[7].

3. He is also of the views that stylistic similarity between the Gaṅgā image found at Dah Parvatia in the District of Tejpur in Assam and that from Ratnagiri, in the Cuttack District preserved in the Patna Museum is another proof of connection between Assam and Orissa. The period intervening between the above two specimens of art is about three centuries according to Dr. Panigrahi.[8]

Dr. Panigrahi's theory does not seem to stand on a sound footing in consideration of the following facts :

Bhagadatta mentioned in the Talcher plate of Śubhākaradeva does not clearly refer to Bhagadatta, the founder of the Assamese Bhauma dynasty. Because, Bhagadatta has been mentioned along with Bharata and Bhagīratha in a rather metaphorical way and not directly[9], so Bhagadatta in combination of prefixed 'Bhavata' and suffixed 'Bhagīratha' cannot be taken as a direct reference to Bhagadatta, the ancestor of the Bhauma dynasty of Assam.

The main stand of Dr. Panigrahi's theory is the Paśupati temple inscription. It is practically more eulogistic than factual. There is no historical evidence whatever supporting the so called victorious expedition of Śrī-Harṣa in the 8th century A.D. to Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kaliṅga and Kosala. Further, there is no mention of Koṅgda, intervening between Oḍra and Kosala. By the 8th century A.D., northern Orissa (from the river Kasai in the north to the river Mahānadī in the south was known as Utkala not Oḍra which, by that time was limited within the hilly regions to the west of Utkala-Koṅgda region. For these reasons the fact of conquest of Oḍra, Kaliṅga and Kosala by Śrī-Harṣa cannot be accepted as a historical fact for the present, until some real evidence is forthcoming.

As for the stylistic similarity between the two aforesaid Gaṅgā images, the time intervening between the two, according to Dr. Panigrahi, is about three centuries. In such a case it is very difficult to accept the suggestion of Dr. Panigrahi that Ratnagiri Gaṅgā image was of the same style as the Gaṅgā image of Tejpur, a district in Assam. Apparently it does not appear possible

that Assamese tradition of style was carried over to Orissa after three centuries.

For all these reasons we can hardly accept Dr. Panigrahi's theory that the Bhaumas of Orissa was a branch of Assamese Bhaumas left behind by Śrī-Harṣa during his so-called victorious campaign referred to above.

So the two theories about the origin of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty in Orissa do not seem convincing from historical stand-point, as such not acceptable.

There is however, another possibility of the origin of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty in Orissa as discussed below.

(a) So far we do not know any indigenous dynasty of Orissa bearing the title 'Bhauma'. So the Bhauma-Kara dynasty does not seem to be an indigenous dynasty of Orissa.

(b) In the Neulpur plate, Kṣemaṅkaradeva is said to have been born of the Bhauma family (*Bhauma-ānvayād-avāpta-janmā*)[10]. In the Chaurasi plate, Śivakara II is said to be born of the Bhauma dynasty of Utkala-*kula*[11]. We have already discussed about the ambiguous reference to Bhagadatta in the Talcher plate of Śubhākaradeva.

In view of these facts it is to be admitted that the Bhauma dynasty of Orissa was not an indigenous dynasty of Orissa ; in all probability it was a branch of the Bhauma dynasty of Kāmarūpa of Assam. The Bhaumas settled in Orissa had been so naturalised as to claim to be the Bhaumas of Utkala. This presupposes the Bhauma settlement in Orissa for about a century or so.

In this connection we may consider the following facts : Orissa remained under Śaśāṅka's suzerainty till his death in about 635 A.D. From 636 A.D. to 642 A.D. a sort of anarchy prevailed in Utkala, Koṅgda then being under the Śailodbhavas. Harṣavardhana did not take the risk of invading Orissa while the Cālukyan king Pulakeśin II was in possession of Kaliṅga. It is only after the death of Pulakeśin II in about 642 A.D. that he invaded Orissa in 643 A.D. There is no doubt about the fact that Harṣavardhana conquered Utkala. Whether he conquered Koṅgoda is not definitely known. There is, however, no reference, direct or indirect, about his conquest of Koṅgoda in any of the Śailodbhava records. Harṣa's conquest of Utkala is proved by the fact that he promised to grant revenue of 88 villages in Oḍra country to a Mahāyāna

scholar Jayasena for propagation of Mahāyāna cult in Orissa. Of course, Jayasena declined the offer.[12]

There is another important fact to be considered in this connection. It is also recorded in the 'Life of Hiuen Tsang, that while Harṣavardhana was returning from Oḍra after his victorious campaign in 643 A.D., he stayed for sometime at Kajaṅgala near Rajmahal in Bengal. Bhāskaravarman met him with a large army, consisting of 20,000 elephants and 30,000 ships. Some take this meeting between Bhāskaravarman and Harṣa as evidence of effective suzerainty of Bhāskaravarman over Śaśāṅka's dominions in Bengal. Dr. R.C. Majumdar is of the view that it was equally possible that after Śaśāṅka's death his dominions both in Bengal and outside Bengal were conquered respectively by Bhāskaravarman and Harṣa. After Harṣa's death Bhāskaravaram might have conquered Bengal.[13] Dr. Majumdar writes, 'But as it was, in likelihood, a friendly meeting between the two allies, the vast military force accompanying Bhāskaravarman on the occasion does not fit in with the situation. It appears more probable that Harṣa wished his ally to meet him with his force so that Harṣa would make over the charge of Śaśāṅka's dominions in Bengal and Orissa to him as an ally as his share. Harṣa was already feeling encumbered with his far flung empire and so he wanted to be relieved of burden to some extent by making over a part of it to Bhāskaravarman who stood by him as a sincerely all along."[14]

From the discussions above it appears most likely that Harṣa made over the charge of his dominions in Bengal and Orissa to Bhāskaravarman, the king of Assam. Harṣavardhana died in 647 A.D.

The Nidhanpur copper plate inscription[15] contains the fact that Bhāskaravarman was the master of Gauḍa, Śaśāṅka's dominion in Bengal. But as yet we have no positive evidence of Bhāskaravarman's rule in Oḍra and Utkala. From circumstantial evidences as discussed above it appears most likely that he ruled over Oḍra-Utkala after the death of Harṣa. Bhākaravarman did not live long to enjoy his newly acquired dominions. He probably died within two years of Harṣa's death. After his death, it is quite likely that anarchical circumstances prevailed in Oḍra-Utkala. During that period the Bhaumas living in Orissa after Bhāskaravarman managed to carve out a small principality which under Kṣemaṅkara became a strong power in Oḍra-Utkala by 736 A.D. This accounts for the origin of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty in Orissa in a more acceptable way.

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9. The concerned part of the line reads, *Bhavata Bhagadatta-Bhagīratha-nāmanyotamavatariva*.....
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12. Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, p. 159.
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15. *EI.*, Vol. XII, p. 65.

27

RĀJATARANGIṆĪ OF KALHAṆA AND THE TRADITION OF HISTORICAL WRITING IN ANCIENT INDIA

SHISHIR KUMAR PANDA

Western scholars very often remark that the Ancient Indians were a people lacking the sense of history. Their main criticism are that the Hindus have not kept accurate record of past events. Even comparisons have been made between ancient India with ancient Greece and China. They put much emphasis on the statement of Muslim historian Alberuni (11th century-A.D.) who was not able to understand the ancient Hindu tradition of historical writing. He states "Unfortunately the Hindus do not pay much attention to the historical order of things, they are very careless in relating the chronological succession of their kings, and when they are pressed for information and are at loss, not knowing what to say, they invariably take to tale-telling".[1] On the other hand the Chinese traveller Hieun Tsang, who travelled fifteen years in India in the first half of the 7th century A.D., states in course of his general description over India, "With respect to the records of events, each province has its own official for preserving them in writing. The record of these events in their full character is called *Ni-lo-pi-cha*. In these records are mentioned good and evil events, with calamities and fortunate occurrences".[2]

It is true that India did not produce historians like Thucydides and Polybios of ancient Greece or Diodorus and Plutarch of ancient Rome. But Ancient India produced historical writings, in way that the ancient Indians understood the history or *itihāsa*. Itihāsa refers to legend, history and accounts of past events in such a manner which would suit to the goals and purpose of Hindu tradition.

Modern definition of history is a product of recent development. If we compare the modern definition of history as "history is a science and art" to the ancient Indian historical writing, then we can say that ancient India did not produce historical literature in the western sense of the word. Explaining the causes M.A. Stein has stated, "They (Indians) are most closely connected with deep rooted peculiarities of Indian thought and culture which have rendered the mind of Indian scholar indifference to the search for the bare truths of historical facts and have effectively prevented it from arriving at the perception of historical development and change".[3] Defending the criticism against ancient Indian historical tradition, R. Thapar has rightly defined history, "as a consciousness of past events, which events are relevant to a particular society, seen in a chronological framework and expressed in a form which meets the need of that society".[4]

So we have to take this definition in mind to understand the tradition of historical writing in ancient India. With the above arguments we shall discuss the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa and the tradition of ancient Indian historical writing.

Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is the singular work that can be said as a historical writing of the modern sense of the term. It was written in the year A.D. 1148-49 and deals with the history of Kashmir from mythical past to the twelfth century A.D. It owes a great deal to the *itihāsa* and *purāṇa* tradition. Also, it fulfills the three main constituents of ancient Indian historical tradition i.e. Mythology, Genealogy and Historical narrative.[5] On this basis *Rājataraṅgiṇī* can be divided into three main sections. First section deals with the mythical past of Kashmir, which borrows a lot from *itihāsa-purāṇa* tradition. Second section deals with the Kārkoṭā and Utpala dynasties in which Kalhaṇa has used the works of earlier chroniclers. Third section deals with the history of Kashmir from the eighth century A.D. to the twelfth century A.D. which is most scientific and accurate.

I. Kalhaṇa, the author—

Kalhaṇa, the author of *Rājataraṅgiṇī* was the son of Campaka, who was one of the chief officials of king Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101). His family was brāhmaṇa by caste, from which he descented the Sanskrit learning. His literary style shows that he had mastered the literary studies of the past like epics and literary history. He lived in a period when much of the political

events took place in Kashmir. Though his work deals with the history of Kashmir from the legendary past, a major portion is devoted to the account of events which Kashmir had witnessed within his life time or within his living memory.

His literary training was traditional type and the way of his description was a conventional norm. But his dealing with the subject shows that he was not a professional *paṇḍita* attached to the royal court for his living. His work was not written under the royal patronage to secure king's favour. His strongly marked political opinions and thorough grasp of the internal history of contemporary events shows his personality and qualities as a historian. His theoretical knowledge of the art of war and knowledge of the topography of Kashmir shows his acquaintances not only as a theoretician but as a practical man.

II. Methodology and source materials—

Kalhaṇa, in his introductory remark says, "Worthy of praises is that power of true poets, whatever it may be which surpasses even the stream of nectar in as much as by it their own bodies of glory as well as those of others obtain immortality. Who else but poets resembling prajāpatis and able to bring forth lovely productions can place the past time before the eyes of men".[6]

Further he says regarding the missions of a historian is to make vivid before one's eyes, pictures of a bygone age.[7] From these statements we can judge the historical capability and methodology applied by Kalhaṇa in his *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

Kalhaṇa was also aware of the historical impartiality. In his introduction he states that the poet alone, "is worthy of praise whose words, like that of a judge, keep free from love or hatred in relating the facts of the past".[8]

He acknowledges that his subject matter had been dealt by others before him. He has given a review of the earlier works and says that he has verified eleven works of former scholars dealing with the chronicle of Kashmir. They are, compositions of Suvarta (*Kāvyas*) *Nīlamata purāṇa*, Kṣemendra's list of kings (*nṛpāvalī*), chronicles of Padmamihira and Chavillakara. He has checked that even Padmamihira has borrowed his informations from Hetaraja's 'List of Kings' (*Pārthivāvalī*). In dealing with the subject, Kalhaṇa

not only pointed out their defects but also tried to give a more accurate picture.

Besides these earlier chronicles, Kalhaṇa also used other records of original sources. He has consulted the *Śāsana* of former kings relating to religious foundations, grants, *praśastis* as well as *Śāstras*. Also, it seems that he has studied coins and old monuments of Kashmir, the two important sources of history. He has used a large portion of the detailed and exact data regarding the foundations of the temples and other religious establishments, origin of particular deities, which he has collected from dedicatory inscriptions.

Kalhaṇa also borrowed a lot from the popular traditions and contemporary legends. He furnishes interesting details bearing on the ancient topography and folklore of Kashmir. The later portion of the history of Kashmir is mainly based on his personal knowledge of the contemporary period and his acquaintances with the eye witness of happenings.

III. Interpretation of Materials—

Kalhaṇa not only narrated the events but also gave a critical interpretation to his materials. His treatment of materials are scientific and gave causal explanations. He has also made an attempt to give secular explanations to the events. Not only he has glorified the achievements of the kings but also at the same time, condemned them for their misdeeds. He has questioned the authencity of the past historians and examined their statements on the basis of new evidences collected from different sources.

IV. *Rājataraṅgiṇī* : the subject matter—

The first section of *Rājataraṅgiṇī* deals with the early history of Kashmir mostly mythical and legendary. There are no reliable materials to prove it. In this section, Kalhaṇa has borrowed the old tradition. He has began his history with the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas as the starting point of his chronology. The chronology of fifty-two last kings which he gives is highly defective. He has assigned a reign of 300 years to a single king which is absurd. By doing this he has glorified the land of Kashmir by connecting its early history with the legends of the *Mahābhārata*.

Kalhaṇa's narrative of the dynasties of his book II & III shows undoubted fragments of genuine historical tradition which can be examined

by other historical sources. Among the kings of the lost group taken up by Kalhaṇa from Chavillakara through Padmamihira, atleast three-Aśoka, Kaniṣka and Huṣka (Huviṣka) are known as historical persons. Aśoka is described as a pious Buddhist and founder of many *stupas* and *vihāras.* But the genealogy of Aśoka is highly defective. He is described as the son of Sacinara and the great grandson of Śakuni. Further, Jāluka son of Aśoka is mentioned as a great conqueror who cleared the land of the *mlecchas,* established the settlers from the conquered countries and introduced a complete system of administration. Perhaps the Kashmirian tradition of Maurya dynasty had clouded the genuine history with fiction. Among other kings treated by Kalhaṇa are white Huna rulers Mihirakula and Khiṅkhila-Narendrāditya. Mihirakula is known from his inscriptions, coins and Chinese sources. Khiṅkhila-Narendrāditya has been identified with Devasāhi Kahiṅgila.

Kalhaṇa's description of historical period begins with the rise of Kārkoṭā dynasty in the early part of the 7th century A.D. and continues to the advent of the Utpala dynasty in A.D. 855-56 when Kashmir came into prominence. The kings, which he mentions, are also known from the numismatic and Chinese sources. The next dynasties of Yaśakara and Parvagupta. He has ended his work with the description of First Lohrā and Second Loharā dynasties down to his own time.

Rājataranginī, in its scope not only deals with the political history but with various aspects such as social, economic and administrative. In dealing with the First Lohrā and Second Lohrā dynasties, Kalhaṇa has given vivid accounts of royal court, including details of the royal family, various appointments to the administrative posts as well as court intrigues and scandals. In the sphere of administration he has mentioned different administrative posts, officials and focussed interesting light on financial and municipal administration.

Kalahaṇa also records, from the early time to his own time foundation of innumerable temples, *stupas* and monasteries by kings, queens, ministers, officials and their wives. His oldest references are based on popular traditions where as reference from the Kārkoṭā dynasty onwards based on historical sources.

As a scholar and poet, Kalhaṇa was interested in the growth of learning and the condition of his fellow mates. He has made references to the different scholars and their works. The most interesting aspect of Kalhaṇa's narration was the accurate and minute description of military operations. He gives details of the routes of armies, technical details of the marches, battles and seiges which prove him as a true military historian. His narrative of reigns and dynasties throw valuable light on the foreign relations of the kingdom during past centuries.

In the sphere of socio-economic conditions, Kalhaṇa has recorded the details of natural calamities like famine, flood and fire which overtook Kashmir in different periods resulting in suffering of the people and scarcity of food and rise in prices of the commodities. To overcome these difficulties and to improve the economic condition of the people, various kings had constructed dams, canals and irrigation projects.

Kalhaṇa has condemned the terrible evils of usurpation of power by military forces, court scandals, intrigues and mischievous role of queens and ministers. The misrule in Kashmir in later times, he describes, due to the rise of power of Damaras which resulted in feudal anarchy. In the sphere of cultural development, he records the introduction of choral songs and careful selection of female dances in the court. King Harṣa had introduced in his court new fashions of dress, ornaments and a new type of coinage which he had borrowed from Karṇāṭa.

V. Kalhaṇa's Historical Fallacies—

Like other historians, Kalhaṇa was not free from defects in his treatment of the subject. M.A. Stein[9] in his monumental edition of *Rājataraṅgiṇī* has pointed out the following fallacies of Kalhaṇa as a historian.

1. Kalhaṇa's silence to the specific authorities of his source and lack of critical estimate of his sources.
2. His credulity on miraculous stories and legends from traditional lore.
3. Lack of historical criticisms and affacement of historical details.
4. His inability to divide heroic legends from history.
5. Lack of perception of historical changes and belief in *karma*.
6. His restrictions to the historical horizons of Kashmirians and historical isolation of Kashmir.

7. His defective chronology and lack of critical judgement of chronology.

The above mentioned criticisms are true if we apply modern historical techniques to *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. But at the same time we should not forget to note the author's limitations in learning, time and environment. If we compare his merits with demerits, then his demerits are much less than the merits. Even, H. Kulke[10], appreciating the merits of *Rājataraṅgiṇī* has compared it with the German *Kaiserchronik* (Emperor-Chronicle) written by a priest of Regensburg in the year A.D. 1147. *Kaiserchronik* deals with the world history from the time of Julius Caesar to the year A.D. 1147. The work was composed on the basis of mythology, fabulous stories and legends in verses. So it is not only India that produced works like *Rājataraṅgiṇī* but it is also the western world that produced *Kaiserchronik* which is accepted as a historical work.

VI. Foreign influence on Kalhaṇa

Rājataraṅgiṇī, because of its developed historical sense, is often regarded as outside Indian tradition. A.L. Basham is of the opinion that, "the growth of historical writing in Kashmir was the contact with other peoples possessing a stronger sense of history than had India".[11] He states that the growth of historiography in Kashmir was due to Chinese and Muslim influences.[12]

In our opinion *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is not completely a new derivation from the early historical tradition of India. As we have pointed out above, Kalhaṇa has followed the three main constituents of early historical tradition i.e., mythology, genealogy, and historical narrative. His historical fallacies show that his mind was deep rooted with the ancient Indian religious traditions and belief in *Karma, Yuga* and fate.

With regard to the Islamic influence in the 11th/12th century A.D. we can say that Kalhaṇa was not the single or first person who dealt with the history of Kashmir. Beforehand, many scholars have dealt with the subject as referred to by him. But unfortunately these works are lost to the present scholarly world. Secondly, Muslim influence in India was felt in the north-west part as early as the eighth century A.D. with the Arab invasion of Sindh. But Kalhaṇa's work was the product of the first half of the twelfth century A.D. four hundred years after the Arab invasion of Sindh. Thirdly, Kashmir

was geographically separated from the rest of India. So at that period, there was not so much Muslim influence in Kashmir. Rather there was much Buddhist influence in the valley. Fourthly, the Muslim historians were generally court historians and the main object of their history was to glorify their king and Islam. On the other hand, Kalhaṇa was not a court historian like Muslim historians. As an impartial historian, Kalhaṇa has not only glorified the kings for their act of benevolence but also condemned them for their misrule.

Besides Islamic influence, *Rājataraṅgiṇī* has been attributed to Chinese influence. India's contact with China goes as far as back to the early Christian era with the opening of the silk route to India. Successively, there was a continuous cultural contact with India and China. After the spread of Buddhism in China, many Chinese scholars came to India to study Buddhist philosophy in the universities of Nālandā and Takṣaśilā. Mention may be made of Fa-hien (fourth century A.D.) and Hieun Tsang (7th century A.D.) who came to India to study Buddhist philosophy. Buddhism had a stronger sense of history than Hinduism as pointed by A.L. Basham.[13]. Though China had an early tradition of annal writing, it is Buddhism, a product of India which might have influenced China for a better sense of history. So it would be difficult to accept that the Chinese traditions have influenced Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

On the basis of the above discussions, we can conclude that *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is a continuity of ancient Indian historical tradition. Scientific writing of history in Kashmir in the twelfth century A.D. may be taken as a development of knowledge in history. Considering the merits and demerits of Kalhaṇa as a historian, we may not agree with the remark of A.L. Basham, "the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is in part a work of political propaganda, written for the purpose of persuading the ruling classes of Kashmir to put their house in order".[14] Also the statement of R.C. Majumdar, "Both in theory and in its practical application, Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* shows the high-water mark of historical knowledge reached by the ancient Hindus".[15]

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THE MONETARY SYSTEM OF ORISSA DURING THE MUGHALS

LALATENDU DAS MOHAPATRA

One of the principal features of the Mughal economic system was the well organised centralised monetary structure. The integration of the empire would have been incomplete without economic integration which was ultimately possible because of a standardised and uniform monetary operation. The rapid monetization was also possible due to Mughals' preference of collection of imperial revenue in cash to kind apart from the fact that there was a simultaneous growth of overseas and country trade, banking activity and cultivation of cash crops. The process was adequately supplemented by the influx of precious metal in large scale by the European companies from New America and Japan and the Asian merchants from Mocha and other parts of Asia.

The present paper seeks to analyse the monetary system of Orissa under the Mughals which underwent some changes in this period. Whatever the changes occurred were more with regard to its integration with the imperial system than any basic nature. The section I of the paper discusses the monetary structure of the province under the Mughals : a system which came into existence mainly in the 17th century. This section will also make a special reference to the role of European trading companies in the monetization of the province. The section II of the paper makes an humble attempt to analyse the impact of this system in Orissa.

I.

The currency structure of the Mughals hardly needs any discussion. It is sufficient to say that the standard coin was the silver rupee (*rupiyā*) weighing 178 grains troy with an alloy containing less than 4%. Later, Aurangzeb raised the weight to 180 grains troy. This coin, known as *siccā* was accepted for all types of transaction. Gold *muhrs* which contained 169 grains troy seems to have been used either for hoarding or for the purpose of presentation to the emperor and high officers. And finally, the copper coins containing 323 grains was called *dāms.* They were used mainly for small transaction. Aurangzeb in 1663-64, faced with a scarcity of copper replaced the older *dām* with a lighter one of 2/3rd its weight.[1]

The Mughals maintained a system of free coinage in which the mint was open to the public. Any person having bullion in hand could approach the mint master for coinage who on receipt of a separate payment of minting cost and seigniorage converted it into coin. But the peculiarity of the Mughal coinage was that the *siccā* was not the ideal coin. The ideal coin was current rupee (*cālāni*), "an imaginary coin and all transactions made in silver coins were adjusted with the current rupee". The newly minted rupee (*tāzā siccā*), coined during the current year or one year preceding commanded a *baṭṭā* or premium over the ordinary coins 'current' minted in the preceding years of the same reign. In comparison to this the coins minted in the previous reign (*khāzānā*) were accepted at a still larger discount. However, the total amount of discount did not exceed the minting cost and seigniorage. The coins losing their weight were accepted only at the value of their bullion.[2]

Orissa was annexed to the Mughal empire in 1592. But the Mughal system of monetization seems to have been felt only from the fourth decade of the 17th century. This was largely due to the growing competition among the European companies[3] as well as the acceleration of trade which must have created extra demand for metallic currency. In 1650 in a letter by an English Factor it was mentioned, "the trade of Ballasore being now carried on in rupees more"[4], explains the role of coin more in commerce than in the early thirties when the trade was carried on mainly in cowry.[5] However, this does not mean that the previous rulers of Orissa did not coin money. But in their time coin of precious metal were used only for major transactions. The Mughal currency system which began under Akbar seems to have had little

impact on Orissa. Though *Ain-i-Akbari* mentions the revenue of Orissa in terms of monetary value *dām*[6], the collection in entire Mughal period was made mainly in kind.[7] During the reign of Akbar and Jahangir except some silver and gold, no copper coin seems to have been minted at Cuttack.[8] Hence it will not be wrong to say that except some very major transactions and fancy uses, the coins of silver and gold had very limited demand in Orissa, unlike other parts of northern India, where under *zabt* system the land revenue was collected in cash. In the absence of any copper coin, the ordinary transaction was evidently in barter and *cowry*.[9]

So far as the English and the Dutch companies were concerned, they received sufficient stock either from the court of Director or from the profits from intra-Asiatic trade. Their import to the eastern coast of India consisted of many items like bullions, broad cloth, scarlet, lead and vermillion etc. Of these the value of bullion varied from 70% to 90%. But the most pertinent problem for them was their conversion. As early as 1658 the English Factor from Balasore reported that they had a mint at Balasore[10], but very shortly it was discontinued,[11] the reason for which is not known. Since then there was no mint at Balasore though in 1690 the English were again making efforts through Muhammad Sadiq, the servant of the Mughal *Dewan* at Dacca to establish a mint at Balasore.[12] But the effort does not seem to have materialised. In the absence of any mint in the port town, the English had to depend upon the royal mint at Cuttack throughout our period.[13] Though theoretically, the Mughal mint was accessible to everyone ; in actual practice, however, rich and regular importers had privileges which the commoner lacked. The actual running of mint was mostly monopolised by the *sarrāfs* who framed the minting right.[14] The Factors either sold the bullion to the *sarrāfs* for money or sent them to the mint for coinage. Each course had its advantages and disadvantages. In case of the former, though the company received immediate full payment, the value was much less. But in case of the latter though it entailed some profit to the company, it involved many hazards like deliberate and unusual delay on the part of the mint master in collusion with the *sarrafs* and collection of money transit tolls (*rāhadāri*) on the way to mint.[15] Th distance between Balasore and Cuttack was 35 leagues in which there were seven or eight toll gates as we are informed by Hamilton.[16] This must have put a lot of disadvantages to the English in depending upon the mint at Cuttack. Nevertheless, the company struck a balance between these

two courses of action according to its convenience. The main advantage in dealing with the *sarrāfs* was that they managed to finance the company so that their investment was not delayed for want of ready money. For example, Kalyan Pal who was a leading *sarraf* of Balasore in the 17th century, made payment to Khem Cand and party and Rewadas and party in 1681 on behalf of the company to start the investment.[17] Similarly, the mint at Cuttack was useful not only to meet the requirement of the company in Orissa, but also whenever they had any problem in coining them at Rajmahal, the royal mint of Bengal, they coined the treasure at Cuttack.[18] Though the coins minted in any mint in Bengal,[19] could circulate in the entire *subah*, they could circulate with some *baṭṭā* or discount. For example, in 1679 the company notes that there was one or two percent differences between the money of Kasimbazar, Hugli and Balasore.[20] In 1711 the company reports that though the *siccā* rupee of Cuttack, Dacca and Patna were of same weight and fitness with the *siccā* of Murshidabad mint, they were accepted at Hugli and other places where there was no mint at 2% or 3% discount.[21] This rate of discount was determined by the local *sarrāfs*.

However, to avoid the continuous difficulty of depending upon the *sarrāfs*, the company in the early 18th century decided to coin all their money in Madras where they had their own mint. Though the Madras rupee, as the Factors claim as of equal weight and matt as the *siccās* or current coins of Bengal, were deemed two percent worse than the *siccā* of Bengal by the *sarrāfs* which the company thought was due to the intrigues of the *sarrafs* who wanted to make profit. But the company hoped that these differences would be narrowed down once the Madras rupee was current in Bengal.[22] However, the importation of large Madras rupees to Bengal meant loss of both business to the *sarrāfs* and revenue to the Government for which the company had the difficulty in inducing the merchants to accept them.[23] However, in Balasore, the merchants accepted it throughout the first half of the 18th century.[24]

Among all the foreign coins imported to Orissa and Bengal it was the *rial* of eight, a silver coin of Spain which was most important. Its use in India was popularised by the Portugese in the 16th century. But in the 17th century, the English company imported them in large scale to India. There was no regular exchange market in those days between India and London but for the purpose of account, the Factors usually converted the rupee first at 2s 6d and

later at 2s 3d in 1951.[25] But in Balasore as we find from the records of 1672 the rate was fixed as 2s 6d.[26] This is corroborated by John Marshall, another Factor who mentions that silver rupee was available at 2s 6d at Balasore though at other places it was available at 2s 3d.[27] Clearly, this reduced rate had not been accepted at Balasore. But there was no fixed rate between the silver *rial* and rupee. Its exchange rate was determined from time to time according to the bazar rate of bullion. Hence a regional variation of the rate of exchange was also not unlikely which resulted in a heavy bargain between the local merchants or *sarrafs* and the English company. For example, in September 1679 the merchants of Balasore agreed to accept the *rials* of eight at 208 rupees per 100 or 240 rupees *siccā* weight.[28] But the Hugli Council in a later order of 12 December expected the *rials* to be exchanged at 212 rupees per 100 with the Balasore merchants,[29] which the latter firmly refused to accept in a dealing in 1680.[30] They maintained that the customs of many places where they provided the goods 'yearly increased by the new Exactions so that they neither could nor would consent to any other conditions'.[31] At last the Hugli Factors authorized Balasore to make the best terms they could.[32] On another occasion in 1675 when the English were hard pressed for money, Malik Kasim, the governor of Balasore tried to exploit the situation by offering only "Rs. 200 for 240 weight" of silver which the English refused to accept.[33] The normal price of *rial* in entire Bengal *subah* in this period however, was between 206 and 209 *siccā* rupees, but sometimes, as low as 205 and sometimes as high as 210 *siccā* rupees. But, if minted, the net value yielded Rs. 213 : 14.[34] It is also to be mentioned here that in 1679 the company made an agreement with Chatturmal Shah, a merchant of Kasimbazar to sell him all the *rials* at the rate of Rs. 210 *sicca*.[35] But the contract did not last long as Chatturmal suffered loss only.[36] Hence, the merchants of Balasore were not unjustified in refusing the rate of Rs. 212 *siccā*. But at least twenty years back it was cheaper as is understood from the records. In 1658 the Balasore Factors mention that as a result of a mint there, the price of *rial* had gone upto Rs. 2 and 1 *ānā Cālāni* (current) per piece[37] of Rs. 206 and 4 *ānās* per 100. But, very soon, when the mint was abandoned the value of *rials* in terms of rupee reportedly went down to 10%.[38] We do not know, of course, how much the *siccā* of Balasore in this time was better than the current rupee, but definitely the rate was quite cheap in comparison to 1679.[39]

Apart from rupee, another silver coin called *ānā*, circulated to facilitate smaller transaction which was the sixteenth fraction of a rupee.[40] *Ānā* was basically a replacement of copper *dām* issued during the time of Akbar. But the standard ratio of 40 *dāms* to a rupee established during Akbar could not be maintained after his death due to the appreciation of value of copper, which lead to the 'conversion of the *dām* of official accounts into a mere notional fractional unit of the rupee, having no real relation with the *dām* coin'. Hence the fractional pieces of the rupees now came to be based on silver *ana* which seems to have come into general use during Shahjahan.[41]

Besides silver, gold was also coined in the mint at Cuttack throughout our period except during the reign of Jahangir.[42] But the use of gold *muhr* in Orissa and Bengal was very rare and required only for presents and fancy uses as has been said. As early as the sixties of the 17th century the Factors at Balasore wrote to Madras about the non-saleability of gold in Orissa and Bengal. They complained that the people in these regions, unlike Coromandel used gold only to make jewelleries and utensils and 'little being made into coins'.[43] In the early part of their trade in Orissa when the English were under the Masulipatam Factors, the latter calculated the trade transaction of Orissa in gold pagoda,[44] the coin used extensively in South India. Its value in terms of silver rupee was between 3 and $3\,^1/_2$.[45] In June 1684 the company in Balasore extended their business with the help of 4000 *muhrs*.[46] However, such use of *muhrs* were extremely rare. The part of Orissa under Golconda kingdom on the other hand used gold *pagoda* for regular transaction. For example, in 1734 the English Factors of Madras sent 10,000 *pagodas* and 32,000 rupees to Ganjam for investment there.[47]

The smallest unit of monetary transaction was *cowry*. Throughout the Mughal period Orissa was perhaps the most important user of *cowry*. Its value in terms of rupee was also determined by the supply situation. In 1671-72, Marshall mentions one rupee was equal to 30 to 40 *paṇas* of cowry[48] (1 *paṇa* = 80 cowries). This was more or less the value which was retained until the last decade of the 17th century.[49] In 1741, 36 *paṇas* of cowry were available at one Madras rupee[50] but in 1743 the price is mentioned as 35 *paṇas* for a rupee.[51]

II.

Now the question crops up, what was the impact of Mughal monetary system on the economy of Orissa ? Was there any impact of it on the

masses ? Did it affect the general price level to any considerable extent ? Unfortunately, our data are not adequate to enquire about all these queries satisfactorily. Neverthless, whatever materials are at our disposal, we can say that the general response to the integration of Mughal monetary system was rather slow. As far as the collection of land revenue was concerned, it was collected in kind throughout the period of our discussion. In a letter to Aurangzeb, both Khan-i-Dauran and Murshid Quli Khan, the deputy *Subadars* of Orissa reported in 1665 and 1704 respectively that the revenue collection of Orissa depended upon autumn harvest.[52] Murshid Quli further reports,.... 'which (grains) has to be kept stored for a long time, and inspite of all my devices cannot be sold, to which the emperor suggests, "I have heard that the traders take the crop and in return for it they bring from the ports whatsoever is in demand".[53] Clearly, this was the general practice followed in order to remit the imperial revenue. The state collected the revenue in kind and made arrangement to convert them into cash by selling them possibly to the urban population or traders who basically depended upon the rural population for the foodgrains they used. This must have caused undue delay in remitting the revenue. This was also a deviation from the usual *zabt* system of land assessment. Apart from Orissa, the other solitary exception where the revenue was collected in kind was Kashmir.[54]

If the coins had any general use in the province, it must have been largely restricted to the urban middle classes. The best example may be the purchase of fancy goods. As for example, the broad cloth which was imported to India by the Europeans, were occasionally purchased by the *nawab*, his army and other aristocrats.[55] The transaction of this expensive item must have involved cash. For other big transactions also cash was involved. However, for the small transactions, as in the case of foodgrains, cowries and other mode of barter payment must have been largely accepted even in urban areas.

What is the reason of the predominance of cowry and barter economy in Orissa, in spite of the fact that by the second half of the 17th and the first half of the 18th century, the Mughal monetary system was strongly felt in most of the parts in India ? The main reason was the availability of foodgrains in abundance and its cheapness in the province. Though Moreland suggests that the prices of foodgrains in Bengal registered a rise in the second half of the

17th century largely due to the import of silver by the Europeans[56] his view has been refuted by both Susil Chaudhuri and Om Prakash. To them, silver could not have caused any price revolution in Bengal because the metallic money did not circulate much in the general transaction. Most of the Mughal *mansabdārs* who were assigned to temporary posts here accumulated huge sum of money during their tenure and remitted them on transfer or retirement. Similarly, the rich Gujarati merchants who accumulated huge wealth by means of trade here remitted them to their homeland. Some of the coins were also remitted to Agra in the form of revenue. Apart from it, most of the gold was absorbed in hoarding. All these factors prevented the imported bullion from significantly affecting the general price level. They have also presented numerous data from English and Dutch sources in support of their argument. These data also indicate that the prices of foodgrains in Bengal maintained stability in the 17th and early 18th centuries.[57] We are, of course, not in a position to say with any degree of certainty, how far these arguments are valid in case of Orissa. But our data in English Factory records throw adequate light on the relative cheapness of prices of rice in interior Orissa, in the second half of the 17th century, even cheaper than the general price level of rice in Bengal.[58] The reason for the plenty availability of food grains in Orissa throughout our period is the conspicuous absence of the cash crops in this province. While the second half of the 17th century witnessed an agricultural revolution in some parts of India from food crops to cash crops, Orissa lagged far behind. Even her manufacturing sector also does not seem to have expanded in the same pace like other provinces in India.[59] Thus all these factors discussed here prevented the monetary economy of Orissa becoming perfectly coin-based.

In general transaction, cowry was the main medium of exchange. The value of cowry in term of silver rupee also maintained stability throughout our period. For example, in 1668-72 the silver ratio of cowry was between 1480 and 3200. In 1746 its price was 3040[60] which is also an indication of the general stability of price level. An English report of 1682 tells us that in Maldives this was available at 9000 to 10,000 per rupee 'suggesting a very high rate of profit in trading cowries to India.'[61] Even in the second half of the 18th century we also see that in some of the big transactions like sale of land, cowry was involved. For example, in 1769 and 1770 Kishan Charan Chaudhury Mahapatra of Dhamnagar sold his lands to Babu Atam Ram at the

price of 34 *kāṇḍi* and 15 *kāhan* 4 *kāṇḍi* of cowries respectively.[62] Thus by the middle of the 18th century while copper had either displaced cowry from most of its old regions of use or subordinated it to an even more humble monetary role, 'the grand exception lies in eastern India, where Bengal, part of its Bihar hinterland, and Orissa absorbed ever greater quantities, right into the early nineteenth century'....'when rapid inflation-connected with the collapse of the old manufacturing economy and the region's changing, colonial status-drove them from general use'.[63] But it is here also to be remembered that in Bengal and Bihar metallic currency were also widely in use because of their agricultural revolution to cash crops like raw silk, indigo and opium, apart from the fact that their manufacturing sector also expanded in response to rising trade. But such growth, as we have noted was conspicuously absent in Orissa.

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29

STUDYING THE TRIBAL HISTORY OF ORISSA : PERSPECTIVE, PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

K MOJUMDAR

A new trend in historical research in Orissa is exemplified by the increasing awareness among scholars that hardly anything worthwhile has been written yet on the history of the tribes in Orissa who constitute about a quarter of the total population of the state. The tribes have, of course, been the subject of enquiry and investigation by anthropologists and ethnologists[1] ; but the results of the enquiry and investigation have not been used to any great extent by students of history. This is because of the deep-rooted feeling that the tools of historical research and those of anthropological and ethnological enquiry are different ; the object of research in the three disciplines is different ; the methodology adopted in the three disciplines is also different ; and therefore, historical studies on tribes would necessarily have nothing in common with the studies on the same tribes by anthropologists and enthnologists.

This feeling needs to be abandoned, especially when trans-disciplinary approach to events and issues is the latest trend in scholastic activities. Such an approach has established the correlation between several disciplines so that the findings of researches in one discipline could be helpful to their counterparts in other disciplines. A historian plotting the course of change in tribal life over a long period identifies these features in tribal character which the anthropologist may find as the unchanging trait in the character and which influence the mind of the tribals even today. The reaction of the tribals to alien forces in the past studied by the historian could also provide a clue to

the present tribal reaction to those forces which to them might still appear alien. In other words, historical studies on tribal communities, studies on the functioning of the tribal administration in the past and the experiences of officers in tribal tracts many decades ago could prove helpful for those dealing with the tribals now.

Materials for historical studies on the tribes of Orissa are yet to be utilised adequately ; and this is mainly because of the fact that the materials could be found at no one place. They are, in fact, located at many places, from where different parts of present-day Orissa used to be ruled at different times.[2] To add further to the difficulty is the fact that a large part of Orissa was held by princes ruling a large tribal population. Materials to write accounts to these tribals are not easy to procure.

Tribal history could be studied broadly in its three aspects ; one, a critical review of the relations of the Government with major tribes of Orissa in which the circumstances in which the relations were forged and the different phases of the relations could be traced. This would bring out the problem of accommodation and imposition—the basic feature of tribal administration. Secondly, the changing pattern in tribal life over a period of time could be theme of absorbing interest, highlighting as it would the extent, the pace and the agencies of the change. The problem of adjustment with extraneous forces impinging on local life could be discussed here. The political, social and economic institutions of tribal tracts would merit detailed treatment with a view to plotting the course of change in them caused by forces which the local people could neither ignore nor resist. The problem of acculteration and attempts at its solution by the tribesmen themselves deserves intensive study which might result in model-building by historians. Thirdly, the inter-relations between tribal and non-tribal communities in a specific period of time and at a particular geographical area could also be a theme worth studying by historians. The cultural influence affecting the life style of the tribals and non-tribals living as cheek by jowl was indeed a two-way traffic. The cross cultural influences could be exemplified by a study of the local institutions and their changing character over the ages.

The focal point in historical studies today is the socio-economic aspects of life and the factors influencing their development and deterioration. These aspects in either tribal life is general or with reference to a particular tribe

deserve intensive study to explain, among others, issues such as tribal revolts, migration of tribesmen to other tracts, non-tribal "colonisation" of tribal tracts and detribalisation. Of these issues, tribal revolts in several parts of Orissa have attracted some interest among researchers in history in the states.[3] But then, there is still the need for identifying the common features of these events with a view to finding a pattern in their occurrence. Particular incidents such as the outbreak in Kalahandi, the *fituri* in Kuṭiyā Kandh tracts and the uprising in Bamanghaty have been studied by scholars[4], but these apparently unconnected events had better been viewed as a phenomenon, the recurrence of which could be explained by the forces brought into being by both consciously adopted policy of the Government and by the concatenation of circumstances over which the Government had no control whatever. Detribalisation could be seen just as a stage in evolution of life in tribal tracts with unobtrusive forces affecting the life, not the Government's measures changing it. An overall view of detribalisation and tribal revolts over a long course of time in the entire tribal tract of Orissa would necessitate the meeting of minds of historians, anthropologists and sociologists[5], the latter two for the sake of conceptualisation of events and issues set out by the former.

The socio-economic changes in tribal life could be best studied if the tribals are viewed as constituents of a peasant society exposed to what Verrier Elwin deplored as the increasingly "debasing contact" of modern civilization. The monetisation of the local economy, the development of market and its effect on the local agricultural life, the replacement of the traditional community ownership of property by individual proprietorship, the break down of the village organisation and such other matters—all indicating the process of modernisation—bear close study to explain the continuing feature of tribal life : contact and conflict between tribal and non-tribal value systems.

Studies on leadership in a community constitute a new dimension in Indian historiography and which have involved cooperation between historians and sociologists and an interchange of their respective tools of research. Tribal leadership is an interesting theme, especially when studied in the context of an enquiry into the extent of local collaboration accounting for the consolidation of non-tribal elements in tribal tracts. British administrators

in Ganjam Agency tracts, for example, created a class of new elite who served as their maids of all work, the main catalytic agency of change. The traditional tribal elite progressively lost their power and position, and often they gave leadership in tribal uprisings. The British Government made the fullest use of the Oriya elite in tribal tracts to deal with the uprisings, in course of which the elite moved away from their traditional position in tribal policy and social set up.[6]

A comparative study of different groups of one tribe living under the same administration but in different tracts would establish that their development or deterioration was not identical. The Kandhs of the Ganjam Agency and these in the Kandhmals could be studied together to bring out their different reaction to the same administrative measures of the British Government.[7] The development of education in the Ganjam Agency tracts, for example, and the reaction it set off in the tribals would bear comparison to the measures undertaken for educational uplift of the Kandhs in the Kandhmals. The diversities and unifying features of the Kandh life could be highlighted in a comparative study of the Kandh response to the same "civilising" measures adopted by the same agencies in different Kandh tracts of Orissa. Perhaps more worthwhile would be a comparative study of the Kandhs and Savaras in the Ganjam Agency to explain their respective problems of adjustment to extraneous forces. A pattern might emerge out of these problems and the course of adaptation to them. This pattern then could be made use of in studying similar problems faced by other tribal groups in other parts of the country ruled by the same British authorities. In fact, contemporary Government papers bear ample testimony to the fact that tribal administrators of different places exchanged notes, and their respective experiences served at times as lessons to follow and as risks to avoid. The British tribal policy evolved out of the accumulated experiences of its officers serving in many tribal tracts.

One common refrain in all reports on tribal tracts is the progressive change in tribal *character* ; detribalisation could best be observed in this change. The Annual Reports of tribal tracts under the Bengal, Madras and Bombay administration in the 19th century, for example, make very interesting reading as they contain comments of local officers on the psych of the tribals changing along with changes in their material life. An analysis of

the tribal character on the basis of verifiable and recorded facts left by policy makers of the past could be a historian's contribution to the general literature on tribes, and this could well be utilised by anthropologists to explain the present behaviour of the tribals. Historical facts need to be remembered by the social anthropologist in identifying the general laws of tribal behaviour. Indeed, critically analysed historical data could as much reinforce his findings based on observation in field studies as they could also help him correct his own views based on conjectural history.

The role of Christian missionaries as an agency of modernisation in tribal tracts is well known, but very little has been written about it by historians.[8] This could certainly be a subject of extensive research, the facility for which is provided by the excellent repositories of missionary papers.[9] For a historian tribal life as seen by a local European missionary and that affected by a local official functionary would make a good comparison. This is especially so when it is found that the tribal life in Orissa was far less perceptibly influenced by Christian missionaries than say, in Assam and Bihar.[10] A comparative study of this influence in the three areas is a worthwhile academic exercise. The vast data that exist in missionary archives would underpin any conclusion and any argument in the work on the theme which the historian would undertake.

Meriah sacrifice and female infanticide in Orissa are the two subjects on which a lot has been written by historians.[11] Admittedly, not the last word has yet been said of the two rites. A lot of scope still exists for viewing the two rites as *institutions* with intimate relations with the socio-economic life of the tribals. How the progressive eradication of what the British Government viewed as inhuman practices affected the tribal mind and life is a question which historians need to answer. It is not enough to describe the measures of eradication ; it is as much necessary to analyse the impact of the measure on the general socio-economic life of the tribals. It is well worth asking why some practised one rite, while others practised the other, though both living in the same tract. The involvement of the Hindus—both elite and common men—in the rite of human sacrifice in tribal tracts, the agency through which the "meriahs" were bought and sold, and the rehabilitation of the rescued victims are issues awaiting analysis by historians. The records of the "Meriah Agents" in original along with their enclosures are yet to be utilised by

scholars who have almost invariably relied on the two published collection of reports[12] besides published memoirs of Campbell and Macpherson[13] to write their accounts of the human sacrifice.

The activities of the officers engaged in the suppression of the two rites could be the theme for gainful research. The officers' approach to the issues were not identical which would explain why some of them were successful in their policy while others were not. The original reports of these officers to be had mostly in the Home (Public) Department Proceedings at the National Archives, New Delhi make useful reading, containing as they do a clear profile of the tribal institutions of the time.[14] The *modus operandi* of the various officers in tribal tracts would explain their differing perceptions of the local problems and their varied solutions to the problem. Some of them were over-ambitious, others not zealous enough ; some would conciliate the refractory tribal elements ; others would cow them into quiescence. Even high authorities, Governor-Generals and Governors held different views on the same problem. Concerted action seemed lacking, coordination of measures seemed urgent. There were clashes of views between policy-implementing authorities and natural confusion in the lower levels of administration. With all this, the Meriah Agency itself is a good subject for intensive research.

Records and official papers on tribal administration, missionary reports on tribal areas and memoirs of officers who worked for tribal uplift have one common refrain ; the conflict between tradition and modernity, and the inverse relation between the two. "Civilising" the "savages" was the declared motto of the administrators of tribal tracts of Orissa and elsewhere ; and its result was also the same everywhere ; progressive loss of traditional tribal value.[15] It was not long before the administrators started deploring the development ; and then arose the problem of how to effect improvement in tribal life without causing in the process irreparable damage to the distinctiveness of tribal character. The problem was how best to preserve the cultural self-image of "the noble savages" while widening their economic and political frontier. Tribal exclusiveness and identity had to be preserved in the midst of a process the inevitable result of which was integration and assimilation between tribals and non-tribals. This aspect of tribal study has an immense potentiality, especially, if a comparison is made between Orissa

tribal tracts and those in other areas. The results of such a study could be valuable for tribal administrators today who, as their predecessors, confront the same basic problem ; how to reconcile the Government's policy of tribal welfare with the tribesmen's own concept of what is best suited to their own interests. The tribals have to be modernised without having to be vulgarised. Change has to be effected in tribal life, but the pace, the extent and the agency of the change have to be very carefully considered. A historian's probe into the past would be worthwhile if he could in the process identify the lines of past tribal policy which are relevant to the present and which could in some way be a lesson for the future.

Tribal study has an immense potentiality in view especially of the fact that source materials for undertaking the study have yet to be fully made use of. Historians could team up with sociologists, anthropologists and scholars in cognate disciplines to interpret and analyse the vast data of the life and living of a people who still are unlike most of us and, for that reason, are a fit subject for study. An understanding of the proper perspective of tribal study would help the historians of Orissa in both resolving the problems inherent in the study and making the most of its prospects.

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SECTION – III
Culture

30

PULASTYA IN HISTORY

KRISHNA KANTI GOPAL & LALLANJI GOPAL

On account of the absence of authentic information the early history of India is shrouded in mystery. It is known only through the Vedic literature and traditions preserved in the Epics and the Puranas. The mythological and apparently confusing details in these texts create a doubt about their authenticity.

The Itihāsa-Purāṇa tradition gives a very interesting account of the role of Pulastya in Indian history. His personality is a strange mixture of mythical elements and historical facts. *Pulastya the sage* - Pulastya is included in a list of eight *ṛṣis* revered as mind-born sons of Brahmā[1]. The Brāhmaṇa families are said to have descended from these *ṛṣis*. A further element of myth is introduced in the narrative of these sages by saying that Pulastya, Pulaha and Kratu among the mind-born sages did not found true Brāhmaṇa families. Their lines became extinct, but, because each of them adopted an Agastya, their names were included in the Agastya *gotra* as three separate *pravaras*[2]. The Rākṣasas, Vānaras (monkey people), Kinnaras (bird people) and Yakṣas (supernatural beings) are mentioned as the offsprings of Pulastya. Pulaha was the progenitor of Kiṁpuruṣas, Piśācas, goblins, lions, tigers and other animals. Kratu is generally described as a celibate, without any wife or child, but, in some accounts, the Vālakhilyās are mentioned as his offsprings[3].

In the Vedic literature we find references to seven priestly families or *vaṁśas* or *mūla-gotras.* These seven oldest priestly families were Bhārgavas, Aṅgirasas, Ātreyas, Kāśyapas, Vasiṣṭhas, Agastyas and Kauśikas[4]. But the family of Pulastya is not included in the list of the Vedic families.

The fact that the name of Pulastya was included in the list of sages in the Itihāsa-Purāṇa texts shows that Pulastya received recognition in a later period. From the Vedic literature we do not get any details about his historical personality. This creates the impression that he was a creation of the later Itihāsa-Purāṇa tradition.

John E. Mitchiner[5] has pointed out that there are two main lists of the seven *ṛṣis*. The first, found in the *Kalpasūtras*, the *Rāmāyana*, the *Mahābhārata* and some of the Purāṇas names the seven *ṛṣis* as Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Bhāradvaja, Gautama, Atri, Vasiṣṭha and Kāśyapa. The second main list, as found in certain portions of the epics and the Purāṇas, identifies them as Māricī, Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu and Vasiṣṭha. According to Mitchiner, the formulation of the second list was the work of certain Brāhmaṇa *gotras* living to the south of the Vindhyas between c. 100 B.C. and A.D. 200. But, there is no definite evidence to confirm the role of the *gotras* and the specified region in the formulation of the list in the specified period[6].

The tradition reverses Pulastya as one of the ancient sages (*brahma-ṛṣis*). His importance is indicated by the fact that he was considerated to be one of the mind-born sons of Brahma[7]. The *Mahābhārata* mentions his name in the lists of the mental progenies of Brahmā, the six *maharṣis,* the seven *citra-sikhaṇḍi ṛṣis,* the eight *prakṛtis* and twenty-one *prajāpatis*[8].

The *Mahābhārata* has different accounts of the mental sons of Brahmā in which their names and numbers vary[9]. We have references to their number being six[10] or nine.[11] But, usually they are stated to be seven in number[12]. According to Hopkins,[13] six was the traditional number of the mental sons of Brahmā ; the number was raised to eight to accord it with the eight number of *prakṛtis.* The number was raised to seven because the mental progenies were confused with the seven *ṛṣis*[14].

The *ṛṣis* are said to belong to different categories in accordance with their status. There are *maharṣis, devarṣis, paramarṣis, rājarṣis* and *brahmarṣis.* On account of their prestige they were raised to the position of *devas* and

pitṛs and, thus, came to acquire a semi-mythical character. The process of the transformation of the *ṛṣis* into *pitṛs* can be discerned in some cases.[15] In the Ṛgveda[16] we find that there were many ancestors, other than those who had a share in the *soma* drink. These seem to have formed the basis of the fourfold division of ancestors by Manu.[17] Manu mentions the progenies of Kavi, Aṅgiras, Pulastya and Vasiṣṭha as being respectively the *somapa, haviṣmat, ajyapa* and *sukālin* ancestors.

The position of Pulastya in the list of the mental progenies of Brahmā also used to change. Sometimes he is mentioned as third,[18] but in many cases he is fourth[19]. The *Manusmṛti*[20] says that Brahmā divided himself into two halves, one male and the other female. From female he produced Virāj. Through austerities Virāj produced Svāyambhuva Manu. In his work of creation Svāyambhuva first produced ten *prajāpatis*, the great sages. Of these Pulastya was the fourth.

In the *Purāṇas* the mythical character of Pulastya was further emphasised. His name occurs in the list of the *prajāpatis*[21] and eight mental progenies[22] of Brahmā. A new element was added to the traditional account, when it was said that Pulastya came out of the ears of Brahmā[23]. The *Matsyapurāṇa*[24] has a story that many sons of Brahma died as a result of the course of Śaṅkara, Pulastya being one of them.

We thus see that Pulastya, a *brahmarṣi*, enjoyed a high respect. His prestige contributed to his recognition as a *pitṛ*. Tradition wove mythologies around his name and converted him into a mental progeny of Brahmā and later into one of the *prajāpatis*. Slowly his historical existence was completely obscured by the mythological coverings.

Pulastya and his family - The Itihāsa-Purāṇa tradition has preserved varying and confusing accounts about Pulastya and his family. They are particularly confused about the position of his son Viśravas, the wives of the latter, and the progenies born to them.[25]

Pulastya is said to have married Prīti, a daughter of Dakṣa. The *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa*[26] mentions Dānāgni, Devabāhu and Atri as her sons. But, in the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*[27] we find the name of Dambholi (Agastya) as born of her. In the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* the name of Pulastya's wife appears as Havirbhū, whose sons were Agastya and Viśravas[28]. Yet another tradition in the Epics speaks of his marriage with Gau or Iḍavidā (or Ilavilā), the daughter of king

Tṛṇabindu.[29] Viśravas is mentioned as the son of Iḍaviḍā. Thus, in the case of both of his sons, Agastya and Viśravas, we have two conflicting traditions about the names of their mothers.

The *Rāmāyaṇa*[30] narrates the story of the marriage of Pulastya with the daughter of king Tṛṇabindu. Pulastya was performing penance in a hermitage, which was frequented by apsarases and damsels on account of its natural beauty. Enraged by the constant disturbance, he put a curse that any woman, coming within his sight, will become pregnant at once. The princess,[31] on entering the hermitage of the sage, came under the influence of the curse. When she reported her physical change to her father, he requested Pulastya to marry her. Pulastya did accordingly. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Viśravas was the son of Pulastya from this wife and was known as Paulastya.[32] He married Devavarṇinī, the daughter of the great sage Bharadvāja. Vaiśravaṇa was the issue of this union[33]

The *Mahābhārata* tradition says that Vaiśravaṇa, Pulastya's son born of his wife Gau, deserted his father. He became lord of Rākṣasas and king of kings in Laṅkā. Pulastya, to revenge himself upon Vaiśravaṇa, begot of himself another son Viśravas, who was the embodiment of half of Pulastya himself. Viśravas disliked Vaiśravaṇa, who, in order to win the favour of Viśravas, sent to him three women Puṣpotkaṭā, Mālinī and Rākā.[34] The names of the wives of Viśravas and their issues are mentioned differently in different sources. Thus, whereas Kaikasī and Puṣpotkaṭā are mentioned separately (see Bhārgava), it has been pointed out that Kaikasī herself was known as Keśinī or Puṣpotkaṭā (see Walker). The name of Mālinī is dropped by some (Bhārgava). All these wives of Viśravas belonged to the Rākṣasa families. Kaikasī is said to have been the daughter of the Rākṣasa chief Sumālī and his wife Ketumatī (Walker). But, according to another version (Bhārgava) Kaikasī was the daughter of the Rākṣasa chief Mālin, and Puṣpotkaṭā and Rākā were the daughters of the Rākṣasa chief Sumālya. Besides Devavarṇinī, the *Rāmāyaṇa* mentions only Kaikasī as the wife of Viśravas. The text gives the family-table of Kaikasī; Rākā, Puṣpotkaṭā and Kumbhīnasī were her sisters[35]. She was asked by her father Sumālī to go and marry herself Viśravas, the son of Pulastya[36].

According to the *Mahābhārata*, Puṣpotkaṭā was the mother of Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarṇa, Mālinī of Vibhīṣaṇa and Rākā, of the twins.[37] In the

Rāmāyaṇa[38], Rāvaṇa (Daśagrīva), Kumbhakarṇa, Śūrpaṇakhā and Vibhīṣaṇa are said to have been born of Kaikasī. From Puṣpotkaṭā were born Mahodara, Prahasta, Mahāparśva, Khara and a daughter named Kumbhīnasī. Rākā was the mother of Triśiras, Dūṣaṇa, Vidyujjihva and a daughter named Asalikā[39].

We get some other names of the wives of Pulastya. The Piśitāśanas or the flesh-eating ghouls are said to have been born of his wife Nikaṣā and hence were also known as Naikuṣeya or Nikaṣātmajas. Devavarṇinī is mentioned as another wife of Viśravas. She was the daughter of a certain Bṛhaspati, who seems to have been a Yakṣa. From her was born Kubera, the king of the Yakṣas, whose son was Nalakubera.

The *Matsya-Purāṇa*[40] records a tradition that as most of the progenies of Viśravas were of the Rākṣasa species, Pulastya adopted an Āgastya as his son.

The chronological confusion in the traditional account of Pulastya shows a vital difference about Kubera. In one tradition Vaiśravaṇa Kubera is mentioned as the son of Pulastya himself. Another tradition refers to him as the son of Viśravas, another son of Pulastya. Pulastya is said to have blessed Vaiśravaṇa, the son of Viśravas to become the master of wealth[41].

The Itihāsa-Purāṇa tradition mentions many details about Pulastya which have an evidently mythological trait. Thus, in the *Mahābhārata* he is mentioned as being present in the palace of both Indra[42] and Brahma.[43] He is also said to have been present at the investiture of Skanda.[44]

There are some other details about Pulastya in the texts, but they are not of much help in determining his chronological position. He is said to have prevailed upon Parāśara to end his Rākṣasa sacrifice.[45] He is included in the list of people from whom Viśvāvasu, the Gandharva chief is said to have received instructions in Sāṅkhya philosophy.[46]

The *Mahābhārata* refers to Pulastya as being present on several occasions connected with events in the life of some of the important characters in the story of the Epic. He was present at the birth of Arjuna.[47] Nārada narrates to Yudhiṣṭhira how earlier when Brahmā was young, Pulastya appeared and narrated to him the religious merit of visiting *tīrthas.*[48] Later, when Bhīṣma was lying wounded, Pulastya is mentioned as one of the *ṛṣis* who surrounded him.[49] But, it is to be noted that Pulastya does not play any direct and active part in the *Mahābhārata* story. He is only an ornamental

figure adding to the grace of the occasion by his presence. It is as one of the hoary sages that he is mentioned on the occasion of the birth of Arjuna and in the death scene of Bhīṣma. It is, thus, clear that Pulastya could not have been contemporaneous with the main event in the *Mahābhārata* story. Even when he is mentioned in the context of the young days in the life of Bhīṣma, he does not have a historical nature. He has a supra-natural character and appears before Bhīṣma to instruct him about the secret method of *tīrthayātrā* practised by the *ṛṣis.*

It is in the *Rāmāyaṇa* story that Pulastya is said to have had an active and direct participation in many events. The events of his life extend from the time of Tṛṇabindu to Rāma and Rāvaṇa. He marries the daughter of Tṛṇabindu[50]. He went to the hermitage Budha, when he was discussing the question of imparting manhood to Ila[51]. He blesses Vaiśravaṇa, the son of Viśravas[52]. He actively intervenes in two events concerning Rāvaṇa, another son of Viśravas. He was the mediator for settling the differences between Rāvaṇa and Māndhātā[53]. He is also said to have been present at the court of Rāma when Sītā swore[55]

Date and historicity

Pargiter[56] does not believe in the correctness of the references to Pulastya as a primeval *ṛṣi.* Attaching credence to the narrative, which makes him a contemporary of Tṛṇabindu, he accepts the historicity of Pulastya.

The position of Tṛṇabindu is fixed. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*[57] he is described as a *rājarṣi.* The list of famous kings in the Epics and the Purāṇas includes Tṛṇabindu as one of the two renowned kings belonging to the Viśālā kingdom[58]. From his queen Alambuṣa[59] he had a son Viśāla and a daughter Ilavilā, who was married to Viśravas. The chronological position of Tṛṇabindu and Viśala[60] can indicate the date of Pulastya. They belonged to the solar dynasty of Vaiśālī traced back to Nābhānediṣṭa, a son of Manu[61]. Bhalandana and Vatsaprī are mentioned as the first two kings of the line. Marutta was one of the greatest kings of the dynasty, which has a regular list beginning with his son Nariṣyanta, whose son was Dama. Viśāla is said to have founded a city which came to be known as Viśālā or Vaiśālī[62] after him. The Rāmāyaṇa[63] mentions the names of the successors of Viśāla as Hemacandra, Sucandra, Dhumrāśva, Sṛñjaya, Sahadeva, Kuśāśva, Somadatta,

Kākutstha and Sumati. On the basis of the Puranic evidence Pargiter[64] gives the names of the last two kings as Janamejaya and Pramati. Sumati (or Pramati) was a contemporary of Daśaratha. Viśvāmitra, along with Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, on his way to Mithilā, is said to have halted for a night in Sumati's city and to have been received by him[65]. The synchronism of Sumati with Daśaratha and Rāma will imply that Pulastya, the contemporary of Tṛṇabindu and Viśāla, has to be placed during the reigns of Sarvakāma, Sudāsa or Mitrasaha-Kalmāṣapāda of the Ikṣvāku dynasty of Ayodhyā. Thus, there will be a gap of eight or nine generations between Rāvaṇa (and Daśaratha and Rāma) and Pulastya (and Tṛṇabindu and Viśāla).

P.L. Bhargava[66] tries to restore historical order in the accounts about Pulastya. According to him, Viśravas was not the son of Pulastya, but was eighth in descent from him. His argument is that as Rāvaṇa was a contemporary of Rāma and Daśaratha his father. Viśravas must have been a contemporary of Daśaratha's father Aja. Pulastya is known to have been a contemporary of Viśāla, brother of Ilavilā, who founded the kingdom of Vaiśāli. Thus there seems to have been a gap of several generations between Pulastya and Viśravas and the latter could not have been the son of Pulastya.

There is nothing inherently improbable in Pulastya being active during the times of Viśravas, Viśravaṇa (Kubera) and Rāvaṇa. A person can be expected to be alive during the life-time of his grandsons. Pulastya could have actively participated in the events connected with Rāvaṇa.

But, the fact that Pulastya was a contemporary of Tṛṇabindu, the father of Ilavilā and Viśāla, will require us to explain the gap of eight generations, that separate Rāma and Rāvaṇa from Viśāla, to make all the references historically feasible. Either we reject the historicity of some of these references or else we postulate a gap, at some state, either between Pulastya and Viśravas, or between Viśravas and his many progenies. Following P.L. Bhargava it may be suggested that Viśravas was a later descendent of Pulastya, but was converted into a direct descendant by the tradition. Another possibility is that he was the son of Pulastya, but, in explaining the efflorescence and multiplication of the many branches of the descendants of Pulastya, the tradition made Viśravas father them all.

It is to be seen that Pulastya has a shadowy existence in the events concerning his grandsons. He blesses Vaiśravaṇa Kubera and prophesies

about his greatness[67]. His role in pacifying the differences between Māndhātā and Rāvaṇa does not seem to have much historical basis, because the contemporaneity of the two principal characters is itself suspect[68]. In the episode concerning Kārtavīrya Arjuna Pulastya is said to have heard about the captivity of Rāvaṇa from the divine beings in the heaven[69] and to have reached Mahiṣmatī by the aerial route flying at the speed of wind[70]. The reference to Pulastya repairing to the Brahmaloka after liberating Rāvaṇa from Kārtavīrya Arjuna[71] suggests that by that time Pulastya had come to acquire a mythological character[72]. His presence at the court of Rāma was not out of any historical necessity, but was the result of the traditional reputation of the sage. Thus, we would be inclined to attach greater historical authenticity to Pulastya's association with Tṛṇabindu and his princess. He behaves like real human beings. He practises austerities, gets angry because of the disturbances, and marries the daughter of a king.

But we differ with R.L. Bhargava as regards the position of Viśravas in the family list. Viśravas does not play any significant role in the life of his many progenies. He remains a shadowy figure, Rāvana is some times mentioned as a scion of Pulastya (Pulastya-*nandana*)[73], but the name of Viśravas does not occur in such casual references. Though reputed as a sage (*muni*), he does not perform any act in consonance with his character. Possibly his name was used as a cover to explain the many branches of Rākṣasa families and semi-mythological beings. The story of his creation by Pulastya from one half of his body[74] imparts him a semi-mythological character like that of his father Pulastya. To bring him nearer in time to Rāvaṇa and other *rākṣasas* the *Rāmāyaṇa* says that his first son Vaiśravaṇa from his wife Devavarṇinī, the daughter of Bharadvāja, performed austerities for thousands of years which passed as they were really one year[75]. To account for the birth of the Rākṣasa chiefs from him the long line of Rākṣasas beginning with Heti, his son Vidyutakeśa, grandson Sukeśa and great-grandsons Mālyevān, Sumālī and Mālī and their numerous progenies are listed[76]. The marriage of Viśravas with the daughter of Sumālī does not take place in the ordinary course. In a chapter, which has the appearance of a fresh and independent narrative, Sumālī, the Rākṣasa, who came out from the nether land and was wandering on the earth, is said to have seen Dhaneśvara (Kubera Vaiśravaṇa) flying on the Puṣpaka to his father, the son of Pulastya. He asks his daughter Kaikasī to devote herself to the great sage Viśravas and

to marry him. She approaches him and says that the sage can know her purpose through his spiritual knowledge. Viśravas knows her purpose and prophesies that she will give birth to cruel Rākṣasas and a pious son as the youngest. It is clear from the account that at the time of his marriage with Kaikasī, Viśravas was a very old man of legendary fame. We have to provide for years of his austerities, thousands of years of austerities of his son Vaiśravaṇa, and latter's tenure as Kubera.

The account gives us a clear impression that unusual details have been imagined to provide for the marriage of Kaikasī with Viśravas who belonged to a period long long before her own time, so that the birth of the many cruel Rākṣasas is explained. Viśravas, referred to as *Pulastya-tanaya* and Pulastya, thus, seems to have been nearer in time to Pulastya than to the later descendants of Pulastya. It may be suggested that tradition omitted several generations of insignificant descendants of Pulastya and traced the family tree as directly growing from his son Viśravas through his many wives.

According to the Puranis evidence Tṛṇabindu ruled in the beginning of the third quarter of the Tretā age[77]. Pargiter[78] shows that this suits other relevant chronological indictions. Thus, Karandhama, the twelfth king preceding Tṛṇabindu in the Vaiśāla dynasty is said to have reigned at the beginning of the Tretā age[79]. In his comparative chronological table Pargiter assigns Nos. 38 and 52 to Karandhama and Tṛṇabindu which practically agrees with the approximate limits assigned to that age by him.

We may, thus, place Pulastya eight generations before the times of Rāvaṇa and Dāśarathī Rāma. The time gap between Pulastya and Rāma is indicated in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[80] when Pulastya is said to have belonged to the Kṛtayuga, a period much earlier than that of Rāma. There is a hotly contested controversy about the exact date of Rāma. The traditional evidence has been variously interpreted to suggest widely different dates. As this is not the direct task of our present study, we leave the discussion without deriving the final date on the basis of the Tṛṇabindu-Viśāla equation and its links with the times of Rāvaṇa and Rāma.

Silence of Vedic texts

A natural question arises about the historicity of Pulastya. Our information about him is derived from the *Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas.* In assessing the historicity of any name or event known from the

Itihāsa-Purāṇa texts the general practice has been to seek epigraphic or numismatic confirmation. For periods, which do not yield any inscriptions or coin, corroboration in other texts is also considered to be a safe basis. For the early periods the Vedic literature can provide the only evidence of confirmation. Scholars generally take only those names and events to be historically authentic which have some allusion in the Vedic texts. The case of others, not covered by the Vedic texts, will always remain suspect.

Pulastya will appear to be a semi-historical figure on account of the absence of any direct or indirect reference to him in the early Vedic literature. The period, to which Pulastya is to be assigned on the basis of the available references, will fall within the chronological span of the Vedic texts.

In support of Pulastya it may be submitted that he is evidenced not by one single text but by the entire Itihāsa-Purāṇa tradition, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and many Purāṇas. The Itihāsa-Purāna texts, no doubt, received their present form very late, not before the early centuries of the Christian era. But, the texts seem to have originated many centuries back. The Itihāsa-Purāṇa literature has an antiquity going back to the Vedic times. It is on account of the non-availability of an early text of the Itihāsa-Purāṇa tradition that Pulastya appears to have emerged late in history and to have been a later creation. But this is partially compensated by the fact that the Itihāsa-Purāṇa tradition has a respected antiquity and is known to have preserved much ancient material.

We may offer an excuse for the Vedic literature to be silent about Pulastya. As we have pointed out elsewhere,[81] Pulastya had connections with the Sāṅkhya system. We know that there is some ancient evidence, accepted by some modern scholars, describing Sāṅkhya to be a Vedic, if not completely anti-Vedic[82]. This may be one reason for the Vedic literature not taking cognisance of Pulastya and his socio-religious views. Another reason may be that the religious practices of *tīrtha-yātrā*, *dāna* and *vrata*, which Pulastya seems to have propagated, are characteristic of the Puranic religion as opposed to the Vedic practices. These Puranic practices appear to have been a later development. But there are indications that they had an early origin. On the basis of the evidence, surviving in the Itihāsa-Purāṇa tradition, Pulastya can be recognised as one of the early supporters of these Puranic rites. The Vedic circle could not have looked with approval on these new trends and hence ignored Pulastya.

REFERENCES

1. *Vāyupurāṇa*, 49, 68-69.
2. *Matsyapurāṇa*, 202. 8-13; P.L. Bhargava, *India in the Vedic Age*, p. 188.
3. *Mahābhārata*, III, 274. 12; I, 66.7-9.
4. P.L. Bhargava, *op. cit*, pp. 167-69.
5. *Traditions of the Seven Ṛṣis*, Delhi, 1982.
6. See Ram Gopal's review of the monograph in *The Indian Historical Review*, Vol. XI, pp. 187-88.
7. *Mbh.*, I, 65.10; III, 274.12.
8. S.V. Sorensen, *Index of Proper Names in the Mahābhārata*, s.v. *Pulastya*.
9. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, pp. 189-90.
10. *Mbh*, I.66.4; 65-10.
11. *Ibid*, III. 272.45; XII, 340.18; 346.6.
12. *Ibid*, XII, 207.17; 208.4.
13. *Op.cit*, p. 190.
14. Mitchiner, *op. cit*, (chapters 5-7) discusses the cultic, ascetic, political and family roots of the seven *ṛṣis* and their transference to the sky.
15. A. Hillebrandt, *Vedic Mythology* (tr. S.R. Sarma), II, p. 255.
16. X, 15.8, 10; X, 154.1.
17. III, 198.
18. *Mahābhārata*, XII, 166.16.
19. *Mbh*, I, 65.10; I, 66.4; XII, 207.17; XII, 208.4; *Rama*, III, 14.8.
20. I, 34-35.
21. *Matsya*, 171.26-27; *Bhāgavata*, III, 12.22.
22. *Vāyu*, 49-69.
23. *Matsya*, III, 6-8; *Vāyu*, 66.22; *Bhāgavata*, III, 12.24.
24. Ch. 195.
25. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 41; B. Walker, *Hindu World*, II, p. 253; P.L. Bhargava, *op. cit*, p. 189.
26. II, 12.26-29.
27. I, 10.
28. *Bhāgavata*, IV, 1.36.
29. *Mbh.*, III, 274.12; *Rama*, VII, 2.7.34.
30. VII, 2.7-34.
31. The name of the daughter of Tṛṇabindu is not mentioned in this narrative in the Ramāyaṇa.
32. *Rāma*, VII, 2.30-33.
33. *Ibid*, 3.1-8.
34. *Mbh.*, III, 275-5 f.
35. *Rāma*, VII, 4.14-VII.5.44. Of the two Rākṣasa chiefs, Heti and Praheti, Heti married Bhaya and had a son Vidyutakeśa. Vidyutakeśa married Salakatankata the daughter of Sandhya. Their son Sukeśa married Dévavati, the daughter of a

Gandharva named Grāmaṇi and had three sons Mālyavān, Sumālī and Māli, who were married respectively with Sundarī, Ketumatī and Vasudā, the three daughters of Narmadā, a Gandharvī. The names of the sons and daughters of these three are given. Rākā, Puṣpotkaṭā, Kaikasi and Kumbhīnaṣī are mentioned as the daughters of Sumālī and Ketumatī.

36. *Ibid*, 9.6-12.
37. III, 275-5 f.
38. VII, 9.27-35.
39. P.L. Bhargava, *op. cit.*, p. 189.
40. 202.12-13.
41. *Rāma*, VII, 3.6-8.
42. *Mbh.*, II, 7. 17.
43. *Ibid*, II, 11.19.
44. *Mbh.*, IX, 45.9.
45. *Mbh.*, I. 180.9-22.
46. *Mbh.*, XII, 318.61.
47. *Mbh.*, I, 122-52.
48. *Mbh.*, III, 82-85.
49. *Mbh.*, XII, 47.10.
50. *Rāma*, VII, 2.7-34.
51. *Ibid*, VII, 90.9.
52. *Ibid*, VII, 3.6-8.
53. *Ibid*, VII, 23; interpolated ch. 3.56-57.
54. *Ibid*, VII, 33.1-21.
55. *Ibid*, VII, 96-3.
56. *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, P. 242.
57. VII, 2-14, 23, 27.
58. Pargiter, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 6-7.
59. *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, I, 138.11. Alambuṣā was the name of an Apsaras. It was not unusual to name women after Apsarases. Hence there was the possibility of a mistaken identification with the Apsaras as done by *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, IV.1.18 and *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, IX, 2.31. This possibly led the *Rāmayaṇa* to retain the name of Alambuṣa as the mother of Viśāla, but mention her as the wife of Ikṣvāku, the son of Manu Vaivasvata.
60. Pargiter, *Op.Cit.*, p. 147.
61. A Puranic tradition traces the dynasty to Dhṛṣṭa, the son of Ikṣvāku's brother Nabhaga-see Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 108; R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalkar (ed.), *The Vedic Age*, pp. 279-80. The *Rāmayana* mentions Ikṣvāku himself as the father of Viśāla, omitting all the intervening names.
62. Vaiśālī, modern Basarh in Mujaffarpur, Bihar is situated on the banks of the Gandak, but the *Rāmayaṇa* locates Viśāla, founded by Visāla, on the banks of the Gaṅgā.

63. I, 47.11-17.
64. *Op. Cit.*, p. 147.
65. *Rāma*, I, 47. 17, I, 48-9.
66. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 188-89.
67. Rāma, VII, 3.6-8.
68. The account appears in one of the interpolated chapters after *Rāma*, VII, 23.
69. *Rāma*, VII, 33.1.
70. *Ibid*, 3.
71. *Ibid*, 20.
72. Pargiter, *Op. Cit.*, p. 242, f.n. 5 objects to the historicity of the narrative and points out that Kārtavīrya was much earlier than Tṛṇabindu. According to him Rāvaṇa is not a personal name; it is a Sanskritized form of a Tamil word and may refer to the capture of a Dravidian king by Kārtavīrya. In support of his suggestion that Pulastya was introduced in the narrative later, he points out that the Viṣṇu Purāṇa (IV. 11-6) is silent about Pulastya.
73. *Rāma*, III, 32-23; VI, 114. 53f.
74. *Mbh.*, III, 274. 13-14.
75. VII, 3.11-13- एवं वर्षसहस्राणि जग्मुस्तान्येकवर्षवत् ।
76. *Ibid*, VII, 4-5.
77. *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, III, 8.36-37, 61.10-11; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 70.31; 86.15.
78. *Op. Cit.*, p. 178.
79. Vāyu Purāṇa, 86.7.
80. VII, 2.4.
    पुरा कृतयुगे राम प्रजापतिसुतः प्रभु ।
    पुलस्त्यो नाम ब्रह्मर्षिः साक्षादिव पितामहः ।।
81. "Pulastya as a Dharmaśāstra writer" in Shri Gopal Chandra Sinha Commemoration Volume, *Ṛtam*, XVI-XVIII, pp. 127-32.
82. A.P. Mishra, *Sāṅkhya-darśana kā Itihāsa*, pp. 8-14.

31

PROBLEM OF THE KALIṄGA JINA

R.P. MOHAPATRA

There is a reference in the Hathi Gumpha Inscription to the removal of the Kaliṅga Jina from Kaliṅga to Magadha by one Nandarāja at the time of his invasion and its subsequent recovery by the Cedi ruler Khāravela who invaded Magadha in the first century B.C.

There is no unanimity of opinion among scholars in the identification of this Kaliṅga Jina as the only reference to it is found in the Hathi Gumpha Inscription of Khāravela. There is also no other literary tradition preserved any where in that connection. Secondly, we have found no material remains of an image from any of the excavations carried out in Orissa so far which could safely be attributed to any of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras.

But though they denied the existence of a supreme being, the Jainas regard the practice of worshipping images of their Tīrthaṅkaras as co-oval with the foundation of their creed.The authenticity of this tradition may be doubted, but the custom of icon worship among the Jainas may be traced back to the Maurya and Suṅga period. One of the earliest stone images in the round discovered in India is associated with Jainism. It is the torso of a nude figure unearthed from Lohanipur in Patna whose high polish enables us to date it in the Maurya period. Its nudity, the stiff straight pose of its arms hanging down by its sides indicative of the *kāyotsarga* attitude, characteristics of the Jainas and its general outlook unmistakably proves that it was originally the image of a Tīrthaṅkara.[1] Its upper and lower portions being unfortunately lost there is no means to ascertain to which of the twenty four Tīrthaṅkaras it represented.

K.P. Jayaswal[2] writing on the Hathi Gumpha Inscription refers "He (Khāravela) returns home with rich trophies of Aṅga and Magadha together with the recovery (Padihara) of some Kaliṅga heirlooms and the statue or foot marks (the detail is damaged) of the first Jina which had been carried away by king Nanda".

R.D. Banerji[3] in his note on the Hathi Gumpha Inscription of Khāravela almost agreed with the same view. He asserts "in the same year (twelfth year) the image of the Jina (Ṛṣabhadeva) that had been carried away by king Nanda (?) was caused to be taken back to Kaliṅga".

But elsewhere both R.D. Banerji and K.P. Jayaswal tried to identify this Kaliṅga Jina with the tenth Tīrthaṅkara, Śītalanātha who was born at Bhadalpur, which is probably the same as Bhadrachalam or Bhadrapuram in Kaliṅga country. This town is at present situated in Godāvarī district of Andhra Pradesh. The mention of Nandarāja in Hathi Gumpha Inscription as having brought away the image of Jina from Kaliṅga is interesting from the point of view of the ancient culture of Orissa. Orissa had been a Jaina stronghold from the very beginning. The Jaina *Harivaṁśa purāṇa* says that Mahavīra Vardhamān had preached his religion in Kaliṅga. Another Jaina work, the *Haribhadrīya Vṛtti* says that Mahāvīra Vardhamān went to Kaliṅga as the king of that country was a friend of his father. The Jaina tradition on the other hand does not assign any of the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras of the present age of *Kalpa* to Kaliṅga. Besides the identification of Bhadrachalam appears to be wrong for Bhadrilpura was the capital of the Malaya *Janapada*, which is included in the list of 25 countries enumerated in the Jaina literature.[5] The Malaya Janapada lay to the immediate south of Nalanda and its capital city has been identified with Bhadiya a village in the Hazaribag district.

It has also been identified with Ajitanātha,[6] the second Tīrthaṅkara of the Jainas who had Elephant as his symbol and Kaliṅga at one time was famous for its elephants.[7] Lord Śreyaṁśanatha, the eleventh Tīrthaṅkara, is also associated with Kaliṅga Jina as his birth place Siṁhapura, as mentioned in the *Mahāvastu*, was the capital of the Kaliṅga country. Pārśvanātha, the twenty third Tīrthaṅkara has been regarded by M.M. Chakravarty[8] as the most venerable figure in Kaliṅga. Various episodes from his life are depicted in the long friezes of Rani Gumpha of Udayagiri hill.[9] Several scholars have examined the veracity of his representations on the basis of medieval

episodes from the writings of Bhavadevasuri. Aranātha, the 18th Tīrthaṅkara is said to have received his first alms in the city of Rajpura, which according to *Mahābhārata* was the metropolis of Kaliṅga. Mahāvīra, the 24th Tīrthaṅkara visited the Kaliṅga country during his penances in the eleventh year and is said to have suffered great pains there. He was most prominently revered in the north eastern Janapadas and also in Magadha. Memoirs of his visit to Kaliṅga country prior to his Enlightenment, may have been quite fresh in the minds of the people there, so that after his demise, the people of Kaliṅga probably made a lofty image of his for the purpose of worship. The same image was carried away by the Nanda king during his conquest of that country and the same was brought back by Khāravela after having subdued the people of Magadha later on.[10]

Similarly Ṛṣabhadeva, the first Tīrthaṅkara of the Jainas has also been regarded by some other scholars as the Kaliṅga Jina referred to in the Hathi Gumpha Inscription. N.K. Sahu identified Kaliṅga Jina in all probability with Ṛṣabhanātha for whom Khāravela had special veneration.[11] In the eighth regnal year Khāravela led an expedition to Mathurā to protect the Jaina strong hold of the place from the hands of the invading *Yavanas*. On completion of his part of duty, the retreating army under his effective leadership turned to Kaliṅga with a sapling of the *Kalpa* tree burdened with foliage. His vast army, with horses, elephants and chariots made a majestic procession while carrying the *Kalpa* tree and after reaching the capital the emperor distributed the spoils of victory to all house holders and religious orders. N.K. Sahu associates this tree with the *Kevala* tree of Ṛṣabhanātha and further points out that in the eleventh year of his reign Khāravela reclaimed the city of Pithuṇḍa which was once the metropolis of the ancient kings of Kaliṅga and in course of the said work he cultivated the land with plough drawn by asses. The use of asses in place of bulls for drawing ploughs is perhaps due to the fact that Khāravela was a devotee of Ṛṣabhanātha. Bull, has been spiritually associated, with the representation of Ṛṣabhanātha. In addition to this the Jaina temple on the crest of Khandagiri is dedicated to Ṛṣabhanātha and a marble image of the said Tīrthaṅkara is under worship in the temple. Among the Tīrthaṅkara figures depicted in the caves of Khandagiri, Ṛṣabhadeva seems to have found prominent representation. From a sample survey of the stray sculptures all over the state one will definitely say that Ṛṣabhanātha

images were extremely popular in every nook and corners of Orissa. The Oriya literature of the medieval period and various traditions and customs prevalent in Orissa are replete with informations to Ṛṣabhanātha and his gospels.

C.J. Saha[12] while discussing on this aspect gives the reasons why the Jina of Kaliṅga was known as Kaliṅga Jina during the period. "At first sight it seems strange why this image is called the Jina of Kaliṅga. It does not refer to any Tīrthaṅkara whose life history was connected with Kaliṅga, but it seems, according to the interpretation of Muni Jina Vijaya, that it is a practice still prevalent to designate the image of a particular Tīrthaṅkara, after the name of the locality of the establishment. The first Tīrthaṅkara (Rṣabhadeva) at Satrñjaya for instance is called "Satrañjaya Jina". Similarly the image of Abu is called "The Arbuda Jina" and the one at Dhulew (Mewar) is called "the Dhulew Jina". Thus it is not necessary that the image must be of a Jina associated with Kaliṅga in his life history. The expression "the Jina of Kaliṅga" merely means that the Jaina image was worshipped at Kaliṅga or at the Kaliṅga Capital.

Nilakantha Dash[13] on the other hand identified the Kaliṅga Jina with earlier form of Jagannāth. "This Jagannātha, it appears, was there in the coast of Kaliṅga (present Orissa) as a piece of black stone which was called-Kaliṅga Jina or symbol of Jina in Kaliṅga. Later on, it was somehow analysed and the analytic name Nīlamādhava was given to it. It seems probable that this explanatory name had some connection with the *Śunya* or Nihilistic theory which developed out of *Mahāyāna* and practically pervaded all the then philosophies of India. It came to be the ruling theory when definitely, a theory of creation was assumed to explain the beginning of the phenomenal universe. A creation really means to make things out of nothing. The maker also is assumed to be a reality though in fact he is also no where or nothing. So the Buddhist philosophers of the Mahāyāna school i.e. the school of Buddhism which conceived Buddha as the creator of the universe and the fountain head of *Karuṇā* or mercy, naturally developed the theory of Nihilism (*Sunyavāda*-which means, "Every thing comes out of nothing"). The Jaina symbol i.e. the stone called Kaliṅga Jina therefore under the stress of that theory came to be explained as *Nīla* (black nothingness) *Mā* (mother creative energy) and *Dhava* (white i.e. the phenomenal universe).

"Thus the Kaliṅga Jina or the Jina symbol of black stone was in course of time known as *Nīlamādhava.* I am told a black stone is still worshipped under the name of *Nīlamādhava* by the aborigins in the jungles of Pal Lahara, in the presnt Dhenkanal district of Orissa".

A.L. Basham[14] on the basis of popularity of Jagannātha cult in Orissa speculates its prevalance in a different form in pre-Maurya or Mauryan times and the practices followed by this religion enraged Aśoka to attack Kaliṅga. He observes "It is well known that in more recent times, the people of Orissa have been particularly devoted to the cult of Jagannātha focussed on the great temple of Puri. Orissa's regional nationalism has centered round this cult for at least a thousand years. We cannot trace the cult of Jagannātha back to the days of Aśoka, but it is probable that it already existed in some form, no doubt in an unsankritised form with the Hindu God Viṣṇu. Such a cult with its indigenous priesthood, might well have set itself in opposition to Mauryan imperialism and have encouraged sedition and revolt in favour of the former native rulers of Kaliṅga. This might provide sufficient reason for the suppression of Aśoka's twelfth Rock Edict in the Kaliṅga edition". We have earlier indicated that Orissa was a stronghold of Jainism during pre-Maurya and Mauryan times. The Kaliṅga Jina was considered as a prized object by the then Magadhan rulers. For this Kaliṅga Jina Khāravela also waged several expeditions against the king of Magadha. Aśoka's invasion of Kaliṅga was nothing but to suppress the Jina religious sentiment to which the people and the king alike of Kaliṅga were so much attached. So the Kaliṅga Jina either in the earlier form of Jagannātha or with its separate identity of a pedestal or image was highly revered in ancient Orissa.

On the inner wall of the verandah of Mañchapuri Gumphā, we notice a large panel showing the worship of some unidentifiable object. The object of worship has actually been decayed due to continuous rubbing of the surface and constant exposure to weathering conditions. The faint resemblance of the object leads the scholars from time to time to variously interpret its subject matter. T.N. Ramachandran[15] and following him K.C. Panigrahi[16], N.K. Sahu[17] and others tried to identify the panel by taking the unspecified object of worship to be the throne of the Kaliṅga Jina more possibly related to the event of reinstatement of the Kaliṅga Jina by Khāravela duly accompanied by his family members. On the high pedestal rests the object of worship

obliterated beyond recognition. The assemblage on the right is a group of four standing votaries with folded hands who evidently came there on a majestic elephant. Above the figure is suggested the aereal region by the symbol of sun (shown in shape of multipetalled lotus), two flying Gandharvas carrying celestial musical instruments and a flying *Vidyādhara* moving towards the object of worship in the attitude of scattering flowers from a tray held in his left hand.

The second figure from the left of the existing panel wears a turreted crown resembling the *tiara* on Mauryan heads found at Saranath. The arrangement of his scarf in the fashion of an *uttarīya* passing across his left shoulder, is distinct from that of others. All are in long *dhoti*, scarves, and heavy ear ornaments.

On the basis of the above details T.N. Ramachandran is inclined to relate the frieze to the family members of Khāravela—"shall we take the scene as one in which the king (perhaps Khāravela), prince (perhaps Kuḍepasiri) and the queens or princesses are doing honour to the image of Kaliṅga Jina which Khāravela recovered from Magadha and restored to his people".

But from the scanty evidences, it is clear that Jainism as practised in those days in this part of the country did not involve the worship of images for not a single Jaina Tīrthaṅkara figure appears in the earlier phase of carvings in the caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri or any where in Orissa. In the absence of any early image it is difficult to identify the Jina of Kaliṅga mentioned in the line twelve of the Hathi Gumpha Inscription of Khāravela with the image of a Tīrthaṅkara. On the other hand, it appears that the worship of symbols was in vogue at that time among the Jainas as among the Buddhists.The caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri datable to the first century B.C. are replete with these symbols. The Jaya-Vijaya-Gumpha and Ananta-Gumpha depict a tree within railings being worshipped by devotees. On the back wall of Ananta-Gumpha appears a *Nandipada* on a pedestal flanked on either side by a set of three symbols, a triangle headed one, *śrīvatsa* and *svastika* without forming part of a scene, all of which are also represented on the Jaina avagapatas of the Kuṣāṇa period from Mathura. The Hathi Gumpha Inscription of Khāravela is also enclosed between two pairs of such symbols, one to the left of lines 1-2, the second to the left of lines 3-5, the third at the end of line 3 and the fourth at the end of lines 16-17. Besides some of these

are repeated over the pointed arch bands of Rani-Gumpha, Ganesa Gumpha and Ananta-Gumpha. These symbols are regarded by the Jainas as good omens and form four of the eight auspicious objects (*Astamangalas*).

Bhagvanlal Indraji identifies the *nandipada* symbol as a "Bull symbol" and not as a mere foot mark of the bull. Possibly on the basis of *Gulla Kalinga Jātaka* in which the tutelary deity of Kalinga is represented in the shape of "white bull" and that of Assaka in the shape of a "black bull". The other two symbols i.e. the tree within railings or *vṛkṣa caitya* and the *svastika* are more commonly available not only in sculptures of ancient period, but also profusely decorate the punch-marked coins even having much earlier dates.

Sashikanta[19] accepted the *svastika* and *nandipada* or *nadyavrata* symbols as ones among the eight auspicious things required at the time of worship among the Jainas, but he regarded the *vadha-mangala* and the *Vṛkṣa-caitya* symbols as replicas of a crown and the royal standard respectively as they occur at the beginning and end of the famous Hathi-Gumpha Inscription.

Elaborating his contention further N.K. Dash is of the opinion that the Kalinga Jina (symbol of Jina in Kalinga) which had been taken away from Kalinga by Nandarāja of Magadha of the 4th or 5th century B.C. was brought back to Kalinga by the then Kalinga emperor, Khāravela, who was a professed Jaina. This Kalinga Jina, therefore, was there long before the 4th or the 5th century B.C. It was then a symbol of philosophy of Jagannātha.

It is very interesting to observe that evidently the Jina symbol (Kalinga Jina) of Puri coast was not there in Puri from the 4th century B.C. to the 1st century B.C. During these centuries, it appears, this empty place of the symbol was a sacred place called *Vedī* (altar) or *Mahāvedī* (great altar). In *Mahābhārata*, after crossing the river Vaitaraṇī, Yudhiṣṭhira proceeds on towards this place and bathes at this sacred *Vedī* on the coast[20] and then from there goes to the Mahendra mountain. The same name *Vedī* and *Mahāvedī* in the same place is mentioned in the *Skanda Purāṇa*[21] as the place where Jagannātha images were established replacing Nīlamādhava. The same stone might have given rise to the name of Nīlamādhava when it was re-established by Khāravela after more than 300 years.

M. Mansingha[22] examining the Gālamādhava legend indicates that the imaginary replica of the Nilmalai Śiva-lingam worshipped by the savaras was

perhaps later changed into a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara image, probably of Jinanātha or Jineśvara and that king Gālamādhava is no other than the historic king Khāravela of Kaliṅga who had recovered a Jaina image from Magadha and had installed in a place "surrounded by the sea as *Kuśa* grass steppes". This description in the Hathi Gumpha Inscription fits in with the town of Puri even today. The sudden disappearance of the deity in the legend refers perhaps to the snatching away of the Jaina image from Orissa by victorious Nanda king of Magadha. The Hathi Gumpha Inscription proudly mentions its recovery by Khāravela after defeating the Magadhan King. In the national consciousness of Orissa the historical Khāravela was changed into legendary Gālamādhava as the great restorer. Khāravela also restored Jainism in Orissa in place of Buddhism which was accepted by Aśoka as the State religion.

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32

ŚAIVISM IN TOSALI AND THE BHAUMA-KARAS

L.K. PANDA

In the cultural history of Orissa the rise of the Bhauma-Karas[1] in the 8th century A.D. witnessed the triumph of Buddhism over the Brahmanical Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism for about a century. The Bhauma-Karas, after migrating from Assam[2], appeared in the political scene of ancient Orissa after the Śailodbhavas[3] and were responsible in bringing a revolution in the religious history of Orissa. The Bhauma-Karas occupied Utkal and Tosali[4] in the early part of the 8th century A.D. which mainly included Dandabhukti (Midnapore) in the north to that of the Mahendragiri in the south. It was divided into Uttara (north) Tosali and Dakṣina (south) Tosali with the river Mahānadī being probably the dividing line. Guhadeva-pāṭaka or Guheśvara-Pāṭaka[5] located on the bank of the river Vaitaraṇī, not far from Virajā or the present Jajpur, was its capital. In the 7th century A.D. since North Orissa was a strong centre of Buddhism, the Bhauma-Karas were naturally influenced by the driving force of Buddhism and declared as the devout worshippers of the Buddha. A close study of the Bhauma-Kara inscriptions[6] reveals that though the first group of kings were all Buddhists, the latter Bhauma-Kara rulers leaned towards Śaivism. Hence the question arises, while the predecessors of the Bhauma-Karas (i.e., the Śailodbhavas) and the immediate successors were Śaivites, what made the earlier group of kings to become Buddhists ? Scholars[7] are of opinion that the earlier kings were converted to Buddhism as this has been attested to by the Tibetan tradition[8] that Luipa converted an Orissan king into the same religion. However, even though the early Bhauma kings were Buddhists[9], they were equally interested in rearing Brahmanical faiths in their empire. Therefore, this paper attempts to show the wide

prevalence of Śaivism and its amalgamation with other existing religions during the period on the basis of a close scrutiny of different historical source materials.

The rise of Buddhism under the patronage of the early Bhauma kings was treated lightly by the Brahmanical teachers of the *Śaiva siddhānta* and the *Pāśupata* schools.[10] From the 4th and the 5th century onwards the successors of *Kadamba-guhāvāsī*[11] had succeeded in establishing Śaivism in Orissa sometimes at the expense of Buddhism. The famous Asanpat stone inscription[12] and the inscribed 'lingas' of Keonjhar district indicate their triumph. The colossal 'lingam' of Bhāskareśvara temple at Bhubaneswar has rightly been shown by K.C. Panigrahi[13] as the symbolical triumph of Śaivism over Buddhism. Within two centuries, the Śaivite teachers had succeeded in establishing their cult in Eastern India. Therefore, the triumph of Buddhism under the Bhauma-Karas in the 8th century A.D. must have been a great shock for the Śaiva-siddhāntins. It was no wonder that in spite of the rise of Buddhism in Orissa in the same century, the Śaivite teachers of the *Pāśupata* school continued to popularise their cult in this region.

How much influence had Śaivism on the Bhauma-Kara royal line can be known from different epithets used by them. In the Talcher plate[14], Śubhākaradeva is styled as *Paramamāheśvara,*[15] *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara* in his Talcher plates.[16] In both her Kumurang[17] and Santiragrama[18] plates, the Bhauma-Kara queen Daṇḍimahadevī has been described as *Paramamāheśvarī,* though her Ganjam plates[19] describe her as *Paramabhaṭṭārikā, mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvarī,* yet she declares herself as a devout worshipper of Maheśvara (Śiva)[20].

During this period a number of Śiva temples were built in Bhubaneswar and named after *Pāśupata* teachers[21], such as Nakuleśvara, Kapileśvara and Mitreśvara. The way the rulers were constructing the Śiva temples installing different forms of Śiva in it, leaves no doubt to think that Śaivism was extremely popular during this period. It was perhaps a common practice among the Bhauma-Kara rulers to grant villages for the worship of installed Śaivite deities in various temples. From the Hindol plate[22] of Śubhākara III it is known that at the request of Pulindarāja, Śubhākara III donated the village Naḍḍilo situated in the Kāṅkavirā *viṣaya* (district) of Uttara Tosali for the establishment of the temple of Vaidyanātha-bhaṭṭāraka inside the campus of

the temple called Pulindeśvara built by Pulindarāja. This gift was meant for the offering of ablution, sandal paste, flowers, lamp, incense, *bali, caru* etc. to lord Vaidyanātha-bhaṭṭāraka and also for the maintenance of the *ācāryas*[23] of the Śaivite order who were engaged in penance. Even today, a Śaivite deity with the name Kuṇḍeśvara is worshipped in the village Nandelo, identified with the village Naddio[24], in the Dhenkanal district. The Baud plates[25] of Tribhuvanamahadevī *alias* Pṛthvīmahādevī reveal that she donated villages for perpetual offerings of ablution, sandal paste etc. to the deity Umā-Maheśvara installed in the temple constructed by Sasilekha, wife of Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati Maṅgalakalaśa in the Bhauma era 158 or 894 A.D. The deity has been named as Nanneśvara in memory of her father Nanna. The grant was also meant for repairs of the temple, for providing garments and medicines to mendicants, for food and clothing to Brāhmaṇas and for maintenance of the family of Danapati[26]. Besides, the Bhauma king Śubhākara I, despite being a *Paramasaugata* (a Buddhist), is know to have made grant of two villages to two Brāhmaṇas named in details in his own Neulpur plates[27]. Most of the names bear Śaivite names like Bhava, Sarva, Hara, Mahādeva, Rudra, Śambhu, Śaṅkara, Sitikaṇṭha, Śiva etc., which correspond to different names of Śiva given in the epics,[28] Purāṇas[29] and other literary texts.[30] According to her Ganjam grant[31], Santiragrama plate[32] and Kumurang plate[33] Daṇḍi-mahādevī seems to have patronised the construction of the temple of Baṭeśvara near Huma in the Ganjam district on the sea shore of the Bay of Bengal and the temple of Daṇḍiśvara at Kodala in the same district. Here we find excellent figures of Umā-Maheśvara which are some stylised and developed than the figure of Uma–Maheśvara at Kṛṣṇagiri[34] of the Śailodbhava period.

It has been mentioned earlier that in spite of the rise of Buddhism in Orissa in the early part of the Bhauma rule, the Śaivite teachers continued to popularise their cult. Although Śubhākara I was a devout worshipper of Buddha, his queen Mādhavidevī, under the influence of the Śaivite teachers, extended her patronage for the construction of the temple of Mādhaveśvara[35] Śiva and appointed a Śaiva *Ācārya* to conduct the worship. This is known to us from an inscription engraved in the temple of Haṁseśvara[36] at Jajpur which was undoubtedly the capital of the Bhauma-Kara kingdom. The invocatory verse of the inscription pays symbolical obeisance to *ali* and seeks

the blessings of lord Śiva. The panegyrist of the inscription compares the temple of Mādhaveśvara with Śiva's abode on the mount Kailāśa[37], which was dedicated for the enshrinement of the God Bhava (Śiva) which is another name of Śiva. Obviously, in order to perpetuate the memory of her name she installed the *Lingam* called Mādhaveśvara inside the sanctum in the capital of the kingdom. The inscription thus gives one instance of the influence of the Śaivācāryas over the royal family of the Bhauma-Karas.

The construction of some caves in Dhauli[38] and Ganes Gumpha[39] by the Bhauma rulers for the Śaiva ascetics indicates that there was a temporary decline in the spread of Buddhism, obviously due to the activities of the Śaiva *ācāryas*. During this period there was also a conflict of religious ideologies between the Buddhists and the Brahmanical Hindus of Utkala. The Śaiva *ācāryas* possibly drew their inspiration from Śankarācārya[40] who visited Orissa in the 9th century A.D. We also learn from Tārānāth[41] that a disciple of Śankara defeated several Buddhists in course of his tour through Orissa. Possibly, the struggle between the Buddhists and the Śaivites in Orissa has been referred to in the Ekāmra Purāṇa[42] as the struggle between the demon and the gods respectively. As a result of this victory of Śaivism once again the Bhauma monarchs patronised the Brahmanical Hinduism. Hence with the accession of Śubhākara III the Śaivism seemed to have lightened their grip over the imperial power and exerted overwhelming influence on him. It has been mentioned in the Hindol plate[43] of Śubhākara III that he had acquired profound knowledge of all the *āgamas* which was brought to his court from South India. These *āgamas* mostly comprised some Tantric texts of Śaivism.

During this period, Śaiva *āgamas* were widely read and Tantric texts became popular among the princes and the people. Under the influence of the Tantric form of Vajrayāna and Sahajayāna, the Śaivites appear to have incorporated into their system all the diversified systems of the various sub-sects of the Śaiva pantheon like the *Lakulīśa-Pāśupata* system and the *Śaiva-siddhānta* or the Mattamayūra system. In the 8th century A.D., due to the prevalence of Buddhism the Śaivites seem to have made a synthesis of their different sects and introduced various Tantric practices under the influence of Sahajayāna.

Under these circumstances, Tantra became very popular among princes and people and deeply influenced the socio-religious life of medieval Orissa,

The Angul copper plate grant of Śāntikaradeva[44] provides some information with regard to this system of Tantra and *yoga*, adopted by the Śaivites in Orissa and throws light on the Tantric and yogic practices incorporated in the philosophy of Śaivism. This charter has been issued from Virajā (modern Jajpur), which was one of the famous Tantric *pīṭhas* of Orissa and the donor Santikara here is described as a *Paramamāheśvara*[45]. The Bhauma capital Guheśvara-pāṭaka was also located at Virajā which was the seat of the Vajrayāna form of Buddhism in the early part of the 8th century A.D. A large number of Tantric deities like Tārā, Heruka, Kurukullā and Aparājita have been noticed near Jajpur.[46]

In the Śaiva temples of the Bhauma epoch, the synthesis of thought of the Lakulīśa-Pāśupata school, the Mattamayūra school and Tantric Buddhism is writ large on the face of the sculptures. The glorious example of this is the temple of Paraśurāmeśvara at Bhubaneswar which is later than Bharateśvara group of temples and a contemporary of the temple of Siṁhanāth on the Mahānadī valley near Badamba in the Cuttack district. Along with two Lakulīśa images on the front facade of the Jagamohana, the other significant Śaivite sculptures are Maheśa, Naṭarāja figures, Ardha-nārīśvara, marriage of Hara-Pārvatī and the interesting scene of Annapurṇā offering alms to Śiva. This archaeological evidence leads us to believe that the followers of Lakulīśa-Pāśupata school joined hands with those of the Śaiva-siddhānta school in Orissan Śaivism of 8th century A.D. and Lakulīśa was accepted by the Śaiva *ācāryas* of the Mattamayūra cult as an incarnation of Śiva. In this epoch also there was a fusion of Tantric Śaivism and Vajrayāna in Orissa. The Tantric *dhāraṇīs* of Buddhism was accepted in the Śaivite shrines as the mystic formulae for *upāsanā*. Soro in the Balasore district has an interesting *Liṅgam* inscribed with the Buddhist formulae[47]. Palaeographically, the inscription is to be placed after the Neulpur copper plate of Śubhākaradeva. This inscription suggests that in the 8th century A.D. the Śaiva *ācāryas* allowed the incorporation of the mystic Buddhist formulae in the rituals of the Śaiva shrines. Hence, the Tantric form of Vajrayāna was incorporated into the Śaiva Tantra and Śiva was worshipped as *sāsvata* and *śāntarūpa* in the Śailodbhava period[49]. He was now worshipped as terrific Bhairava in the Bhauma period. The synthesis of Śaivism and Tantric form of Vajrayāna had been accepted by the people and with this social sanction the architects and sculptors represented the figures of Lakulīśa and Bhairava along with the

32. *EI*, XXIX, pp. 79-89.
33. *JBORS*, V, pp. 544-547; B. Misra, *OUB*, pp. 60-67.
34. L.K. Panda, *SIO*, p. 41.
35. *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 181-183.
36. *Ibid*, p. 183.
37. *Bhagavata Purana*, IV, 6.8.22 (Gorakhpur, 1971).
38. *EI*, XIII, p. 167.
39. *EI*, XIX, pp. 260-264.
40. N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, 1958, Foreword, p. ix.
41. B.N. Dutta, *Mystic Tales of Lama Taranath*, p. 173.
42. K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, pp. 214-215.
43. *JBORS*, XVI, p.p. 69-83.
44. *OHRJ*, XIII, No. 4. pp. 1-14.
45. *Ibid.*
46. N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, pp. 181-199.
47. *OHRJ*, XI, p. 16.
48. *Ibid.*
49. L.K. Panda, *SIO*, p. 40.
50. K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, p. 232.
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Ibid*, p. 39.
53. D.K. Sastri, *IHQ*, VII, p. 130.
54. K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, p. 32.
55. Ibid, p. 215.
56. H.K. Mahtab, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, (1959), p. 145.

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SOME ASPECTS OF ORISSAN BUDDHISM

N.N. BHATTACHARYYA

Although a general account of the introduction and development of Buddhism in Orissa, as may be reconstructed from the traditional historical materials, is now more or less well known, especially after the publication of N.K. Sahu's *Buddhism in Orissa* in 1958, much of its functional intricacies, which characterised the religious fabrics of Orissa by combining themselves with various streams of beliefs and practices throughout the ages, requires a fresh handling on the basis of the widely surviving non-conventional sources pertaining to various forms of popular religion and suggestive of a broader and heterogeneous socio-religious cultural complex which, as it appears, have not yet been properly utilised. Unlike other forms of religious systems, Buddhism in Orissa, as in Bengal, revealed a process of metamorphosis in the field of ideas, practices and institutions. Here the primitive Buddhism was negated by Hinayāna, the latter by Mahāyāna, the latter by Vajrayāna and other forms of the so called Tantric Buddhism and the latter by other forms which did not care to identify themselves as Buddhism, though in every stage of this metamorphosis certain residues of the anterior stages survived with their functional significance. This phenomenon had a striking similarity with that of Bengal. The Vajrayāna form of Buddhism reached its highest culmination under the Bhauma-Kara rulers in the 8th-10th centuries, just as it did in Bengal during the Pāla period. The last ruler know to have supported Buddhist religious establishment was Gajapati Mukundadeva of the 16th century, and even thereafter the Buddhist community was never completely extinguished, as has been demonstrated in the beginning of this century (1911) by N.N. Basu in his *Modern Buddhism and its Followers in Orissa.* It reminds us of the Chittagong phenomenon of Bengal.

Even in the case of the early history of Buddhism in Orissa there are many points of similarity with that of Bengal Buddhism. In both cases, apart from sporadic references, continuity and sequential development have not been found. Hiuen Tsang's description of the Buddhist monks and monasteries is similar in regard to both the countries and the tradition of Śaśāṅka's anti-Buddhist activities was current in both places. Like the Pala kings of Bengal the Bhauma-Kara kings of Orissa were known by such titles as *parama-tathāgata, parama-saugata, saugatāśraya* etc., and they also erected and patronised various monasteries. On the basis of the copper plates relating to the Bhauma-Kara rulers and also on that of the sites and the archaeological finds it is learnt that it was the Vajrayāna form of Buddhism and its pantheon that dominated the field - a phenomenon which was quite in accordance with that of Bengal and Bihar during the rule of the Pala kings. During the Bhauma-Kara rule the district of Balasore was added to the map of Buddhist establishments of Orissa side by side with the existing ones at Lalitagiri, Udayagiri, Ratnagiri and other places. Kopari, Khadipada, Solampur and Ayodhya in the Balasore district became important centres of Vajrayāna Buddhism. (See B. Misra, *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, Calcutta, 1934).

In Western Orissa there were some Buddhist establishments at Titilagarh, Amatgrha, Gandhamardan, Patnagarh, Ganiapali, Mahadevpali and a few other sites. The Bhandak Buddhist inscription and the Senkapat inscription belonging to the time of the Somavaṁśi kings, both edited by S.N. Rajaguru in the fourth volume of his *Inscriptions of Orissa*, testify Buddhist influence in this region. The Bhauma kings extended their empire up to Sonepur. The colossal Buddha image from Paścimeśvara on the Brāhmaṇī, a similar one of Buddha and two bronzes, respectively of Maitreya and Lokeśvara obtained from Boud, the Tantric Buddhist images found in the compound of the Ramesvara temple etc. were probably of Bhauma-Kara inscription. Binayak Misra suggested that the place called Jagati near Talcher was the site of ancient Jayāśrama Vihāra. Sambhala and Lankapara, associated with the names of the Buddhist Tantric teacher Indrabhūti and his sister Lakṣmikarā, were identified by N.K. Sahu respectively with Sambalpur and Sonepur. Coming to the east we come across Vajrayāna vestiges in the forms of various images in the Prachi valley at Dakṣineśvara in Kantapara block, Jiunti near Kakatpur, Mudgala, Lataharana, Amaresvara, Phiriphera,

Kantikula, Astaranga, Arkavala and other sites. Images of the Vajrayāna pantheon discovered in Khiching and now housed respectively in the Khiching and Baripada museums comprised those of Buddha, Arapacana, Mañjuśrī, Vasudharā, Jambhala, Tārā, Mārīcī, Lokeśvara, Vajrasattva, etc.

The largest hoard of Buddhist bronze images numbering 130 (including 19 votive Stupas) were recovered in Achutarajpur (near Banpur) in the Puri district in 1963. Two big earthen pots contained the entire hoard along with a set of copper plates of king Indraratha of the Somavaṁśi dynasty. The copper plates deciphered by K.B. Tripathi (*JAS*, VII, 1966) describe the ancestry of Indraratha the donor, and the story of his coming to Udra and Kaliṅga. The finds range between c. fifth to eleventh century A.D. and comprised the images of Buddha, Vajrasattva, Mañjuśrī, Amoghasiddhi, Avalokiteśvara, Trailokyavijaya, Heruka, Jambhala, Tārā, Hariti, Kurukullā, Mārīcī and Cuṇḍā - all Mahāyānic deities who received greater prominence in the Vajrayāna. More suggestive in this respect is the Ratnagiri Mahāvihāra which flourished almost in the pattern of Nalanda between the fifth and the twelfth centuries A.D. Several of the Stupas here have, on one or all the four faces of the drums, niches with images of Buddha, Dhyānī Buddhas, Tārā, Lokeśvaras and deities of the Vajrayāna pantheon. The site yielded stone and bronze images of Buddha, Dhyānī Buddhas, Lokeśvara, Padmapāṇi, Vajrapāṇi, Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, Vajrarāga, Jambhala, Yamāri, Heruka, Sambhara, Hāriti, various forms of Tārā, Vasudharā, Āryā Sarasvatī and Aparajita.

The importance of Ratnagiri lies in the fact that the Tibetan writers took notice of it and regarded its activities in high esteem. In this connection Lama Taranatha threw important light on the history of Buddhism in Orissa. "Now near the coast of the ocean on the top of a hill in the country of Odivisa in the east, king Buddhapakṣa, in the latter part of his life, built a temple called Ratnagiri (*rin-chen ri-bo*). He prepared three copies of each of the scriptural works of the Mahāyāna and Hinayāna and kept these in this temple. He established there eight great centres for the doctrine and maintained five hundred monks. A monastery called Devagiri was built on the model Ratnagiri on a hill on the sea-coast near Bhaṅgala. His (Buddhapakṣa's) minister built the temple there and the Brāhmaṇa Saṅku arranged for (the copies) of scriptural works. The Brāhmaṇa Bṛhaspati provided it with all the articles of worship and the queen maintained the monks and the centre of the

Doctrine. This Brāhmaṇa Bṛhaspati built many temples of the Buddha in the city of Kaṭaka in Oḍivisā and he arranged for the entertainment of a large number of Saṅghas. "(*Lama Taranatha's History of Buddhism* by Lama Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyaya, Calcutta 1971).

Tārānātha has a lot of information on Buddhism in Orissa. He says that during the reign of Aśoka's son Kunāla, also known as Vigataśoka, a Brāhmaṇa called Rāghava contributed a lot to the Propagation of Buddhism in Oḍivisa. Shortly after the period of king Mahāpadma, Candrarakṣita became the king of Oḍivisā who was initiated into Mahāyānism by Mañjuśrī himself. Ārya Nāgārjuna built many Buddhist shrines in Patavesa, Oḍivisa, Bhaṅgala and Rāḍha and during his time king Muñja of Oḍivisa, Bhaṅgala and Rāḍha and during his time king Muñja of Oḍivisa along with his thousand attendants attained the Vidyādhara Kāya. The time of Jaleruha, king of Oḍivisa synchronised with the advent of Ārya Āsaṅga as the spiritual ruler of Buddhism. Āsaṅga's successor Vāsuvandhu was invited in Oḍivisa by a Brāhmaṇa called Makṣika to deliver discourses on the Mahāyāna. During the patriarchy of Ācārya Dinnāga, Nāgeśa, son of the king Jaleruha of Oḍivisa was initiated into the creed by Lui-pā and came to be known as Darika-pā. During his time a Brāhmaṇa called Bhadrapālita worked extensively for the Law in Orissa. He acted as the royal teasurer and erected sixteen monasteries. Dinnāga himself attained *samādhi* in the cave of a hill in Oḍivisa called Bhota-sela. During the period of the Candra rulers in Bengal Ācārya Jñānagarbha from Orissa went to Bengal to learn the creed under Ācārya Śrīgupta and the latter became famous as a great Mādhymika exponent of the views of Bhavya. King Vīrācārya of Oḍivisa, who composed commentaries on Buddhist Tantras, invited his Pāla contemporary Mahīpāla to the Vihāra where previously lived king Munja. Ācārya Bodhibhadra who succeeded the celebrated Naro-pā was born in a Vaiśya family of Oḍivisa and perfected himself in the sciences of Vidyāsambhāra, Caryāsambhāra and Bodhisattvabhūmi. After the Turkish conquest of Bengal and Bihar and the destruction of the monasteries of Vikramaśilā and Odantapuri, the Buddhist patriarch Śakyaśrī took shelter in Ja-gar-da-la (Jagaddala) in Oḍivisa. Later on, king Mukundadeva of Oḍivisa occupied most of the territories of the Madhyadeśa and shifted the centre for the doctrine from Magadha to Oḍivisa where he established a monastery.

To come back to Ratnagiri again, Tārānātha says that during the reign of the Pāla king Mahīpāla, Ācārya Pito brought the Kālacakra Tantra and spread its doctrine. In the account of the spread of Kālacakra given in the *Deb-ther-snon-po* or the *Blue Annals* (trans. G. Roerich, II, 753 ff.), instead of Ācārya Pito, we have the name of the great Pindo-pa who first obtained the Kālacakra from Sambhala. The same text, however, refers to the name of Bitopada, a disciple of Buddhaśrījñāna and that of Pito-pa as one of the five special disciple of Atisa. Sum-pā is more precise in this respect. In his *Pag-sam-jon-zang* he categorically states that Ācārya Bitobā went through magic to Sambhala where he obtained the Kālacakra Tantra, brought it to Ratnagiri and explained the doctrine to Avadhuti-pā, Bodhiśrī and Narapā. Whether or not this Sambhala, once ruled by Indrabhūti, was the Sambalpur region, the fact remains that the doctrines of Kālacakra through their association with the Ratnagiri Mahāvihāra had a great relevance to the Orissan Buddhism. The word Kālacakra means the wheel of time. From the *Sekoddeśa-ṭikā* which is a commentary on the Sekoddesa section of the *Kālacakratantra* (ed. M.E. Carelli GOS, 3 ff.) it is known that by *Kāla* is denoted the ultimate immutable and unchanging reality remaining in all the elements and by *Cakra* is meant the unity of the three kinds of existence, and as such Kālacakra is the same as the unity of *Prajñā* and *Upāya*. This aspect of Buddhism became popular in Tibet, China and Nepal and greatly infuenced the Vajrayāna aspirants of Bengal and Orissa.

The study of the later phases of Buddhism is more interesting than that of its earlier phases especially in the context of Bengal and Orissa in which religions these phases influenced the cults and rituals at the grassroot level and opened a new horizon of ideas which laid more stress on the ultimate inner nature of beings and elements and on an approach to the spiritual and allied problems in terms of the easiest way through which the aspirant was to realise the truth. These new horizons were characterised by the emergence of Sahajayāna which considered the human body itself as the seat of all human experience including that of *Sahaja-mahāsukha,* a peaceful, blissful, radiant and waveless experience of *Sahaja,* the ways of the Siddhācāryas which aspired for *jīvamukti* or liberation within the span of human life through *Kāyasādhana* or disciplining of the body and the drugs of immorality, the composite Nathism, the cult of *Dharma* and other interesting forms of beliefs and practices. S.B. Dasgupta in his *Obscure Religious Cults and Background*

of Bengali Literature, Calcutta 1946, made a pioneering study of all these and demonstrated, quite convincingly with all sorts of available data, how Buddhism in its various metamorphosied forms influenced the grassroot level infrastructure of the religious beliefs and practices in Bengal and was able to bring a qualitative change in those spheres. No such serious attempt, notwithstanding the sporadic ones, is made in the Orissan context, save for any one field of study, namely, the cult of Jagannātha.

In all the works on the cult of Jagannātha, the most recent being that made by Ancharlot Eschman, Herman Kulke and G.C. Tripathi, the influence of Buddhism on this primordial tribal deity was sought to be traced, identified and documented. Therefore, leaving aside the question of Jagannātha's affiliation with Buddhism, I want to draw the attention of the scholars to another interesting concept, namely that of *Śunya*. This concept had its first appearance as the essence of the Mādhyamika system describing the cognition of worldly existence as false as the beauty of the daughter of a barren woman, implying absolute idealism in the western sense and resembling the Sankarite view of illusion and reality. But in the subsequent history of Buddhism, especially in Bengal and Orissa, the concept of *Śunyatā* or vacuity was solidified and was given a new dimension in the field of popular cults and beliefs. According to Nagarjuna, *Śunya* is of four kinds, *Śunya, Atiśunya, Mahāśunya* and *Sarva-śunya.* This is to be realised through *Yoga* leading to *Śunya-samādhi.* In Bengal, it was theoretically established in the *Śunya Purāṇa* and was specially associated with the cult of Dharma which was characterised by Haraprasad Sastri as 'the living Buddhism of Bengal'. Although now it has been established that the present form of the Dharma Cult is a comingling of a host of heterogenous beliefs and practices, its basic Buddhist ingredients cannot be denied. Sastri pointed out that the *dhyāna* of Dharma represents the deity as Śunyamūrti and Nirañjana which connect the cult with the theory of *Śunya* or void, so popular among later Buddhists and show the latter's influence on the former. It is interesting to note that the *Śunya Purāṇa* and the *Dharma Pūjā Vidhāna* refer to the *Saddharmis* or Buddhists of the Jajpur region of Orissa, who were said to have been persecuted by the Brāhmaṇas. In the Nepalese *Svayambhū Purāṇa*, Ādi Buddha, described as of the nature of the ultimate substance (*dharma-dhātu*) and often conceived as Vairocana, has been equated with Śākyamuni, Dharmarāja and Lord Jagannātha.

This concept of Śunya had also exerted much influence on the popular religions of Orissa. It was accepted by the *Nātha-panthis* of Orissa who believed in three kinds of *Śunya, Ādi, Madhya* and *Antaḥ*. But its influence was specially upon the Orissan Vaiṣṇavism of later times. It is to be pointed out in this connection that the Sahajiyā Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal, of which *Mahāprabhu* Srī-Caitanya was also a product, toyed with the *Śunya*. The earliest Buddhist concept of the union of Karuṇā or Universal Compassion and *Śunyatā* or Universal Vacuity, personalised in the forms of the male and female principles of creation and symbolised in the Vajrayāna as *Upāya* and *Prajñā* was accepted by the Sahajiyā Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal as the embodiment of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā whose union in the human body conceived as Vṛndāvana and the microcosm of the Universe was said to produce the bliss of absolute non-duality. Śrī-Caitanya, however, did not encourage this approach. But these Sahajiyā Vaiṣṇava concepts centering round the earlier Buddhist ideas also pervaded the Orissan sky and even the followers of Śrī-Caitanya in Orissa could not detach themselves from their influence. Balarāma Dāsa, one of the five comrades of Śrī-Caitanya himself, wrote in his *Virata Gītā* that Kṛṣṇa was formless (*nirākāra*) and the void (*śunya*) personified. More eloquent was another comrade, Acyutānanda who in his *Śunya Saṁhitā* demonstrated the worship of the void with the *mantra* of the formless (*nirākāra śunya bhajana mantra*). The tendencies in the direct application of the concept of *Śunya* thus appear in the medieval school of *Pañca-sakhā*, notwithstanding Śrī-Caitanya's disapproval, and in their writings the true nature of Visnu or Jagannātha is explained as *Śunya* or *Alekha, Anādi, Nirākāra, Nirañjana* etc. and equated with *Parama-Brahman* or *Śunya-Brahman*. The Mahimā Dharma of the later period also banked on the Buddhist concept of *Śunya* which it characterises as *Alekha* (indescribable), *Nirguṇa* (without attributes), *Nirākāra* (formless), *Anādi* (eternal), Nirañjana (pure or without support) and Mahimā (radiance, glory). All these point to the fact that the theoretical intricacies of the Buddhist concepts and relations acted on the socio-religious fabric of Orissa through the ages under diverse and peculiar historical conditions, and as such the period of the metamorphosis of Buddhism is expected to remain as a permanent source of interest among scholars working on the various fields or Orissan religious history.

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CULT OF ŚRĪ-LAKṢMĪ

H.C. DAS

The benevolent goddess Lakṣmī has, for thousands of years, been one of the most popular Indian divinities. She is held in high esteem by a large section of Hindus as the goddess of beauty, fortune and fertility. People, desirous of material prosperity and welfare, pay special attention to propitiate this goddess. She has various names such as Padmālayā, Padma Kamalā, Śri, Haripriyā, Indirā, Lokamātā, Mā, Kṣirābddhitanayā, Ramā Jaladhijā, Vārgavī, Hariballabhā, Dugdhābdhitanayā, Kṣirasāgarasutā etc. "The spouse or Śakti of the high god Viṣṇu, she has not generally received the same devotion as that accorded to her Śaivite counterpart, Pārvatī or Durgā and few temples have been established in her honour. Yet she remains an important element in the religious life of Hinduism, and her image and pictures are to be found in many Hindu homes ; for she is the bringer of good fortune in all practical enterprises, the bestower of health and security on her worshipper. Though in the past, like Durgā, she was sometimes worshipped in terrible forms, she is now-a-days looked on as altogether benevolent, a mother goddess without the awesome power of Durgā, but with no terrifying aspects a goddess to be loved rather than feared".[1]

Scholars have attempted to trace the origin of the goddess from the Indus valley civilization. The female figures unearthed from Harappā and Moheñjodāro have been identified as the Mother goddesses. These figures of terracotta decked with various ornaments and fanshaped head-dress, having disproportionate body with heavy hips and thin waists, were worshipped in the 4th/3rd millennium B.C.[2] These were supposed to have represented the presiding goddesses of the Indus people. An interesting seal recovered from

Harappā representing her with a prout issuing from her womb is taken to be the goddess of fertility.[3] The right-stones discovered from these sites appear to have been connected with the cult of mother goddess. A gold leaf recovered from Lauriya-Nandangarh illustrates a nude figure which has been identified as a form of Mother goddess.[4] The small discs discovered from Taxilā, Sañkisā, Mathura, Osam, Rājghāt, Basarāh and Pātṇa[5] depicting female images associated with the figures of mythical animals, have religious significance and may be taken as the prototype of the mother goddess connected with terracotta figurines of the Indus valley.

Lakṣmī as Śrī made her appearance from the vedic period. In the Śrī-Śūkta[6] Śrī is invoked as the goddess of all living beings. She is the goddess of cattle and is associated with corn. In the Khila Sūkta[7] she is of golden colour wearing garland of silver and is fickle like deer. 'Hiraṇyavarṇāṁ hariṇīṁ Suvarṇarajatasrajāṁ Chandrāṁ hiraṇmayeeṁ Lakṣmīṁ Yātavedo mamāvaha'. In Sukla Yadurveda[8] Śrī and Lakṣmī are the consorts of Āditya.

Śrīśca te Lakṣmiśca
Patnyāvahorātre Pārśve.

'Śrīyam ca Lakṣmī puṣṭiṁ kīrtiṁ cānrnyatāṁ vahuputratāṁ'. (Let me have Śrī, Lakṣmī, nutrition, glory and many sons and be free from debt).

In the Atharvaveda she is the sister of gods and is propitiated for offsprings. In the Brāhmaṇa literature the concept of Śrī has been clearly illustrated, and various conceptual terms like *prajā* (offspring) *Anna* (food), *Kṣatra* (ruling power) and *Rāṣṭra*[9] etc. have been used.

In regard to the origin of Śrīdevī there is an interesting story in the Śatapatha Brahamaṇa.[10] When Prajāpati was engaged in deep meditation for creation of beings, Śrī, endowed with heavenly beauty and qualities, was born from his body. Envious of her beauty and celestial qualities gods plotted to take all her qualities and beauty by killing her. Prajāpati asked them not to kill her but to distribute her beauty and virtue among themselves in equal proportions. Having been advised by Prajāpati, she propitiated the gods and got back her old appearance with all her virtues, holy lustres, prosperity etc. The inner significance of this story is not difficult to understand, and the goddess embodies all the major good things coveted by man.[11] The Taittirīya Ārāṇyaka[12] and the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā[13] record Śrī and Lakṣmī as the two heavenly women with separate identification. Śrī Sūkta does not differentiate

Śrī from Lakṣmī. However, in the Śrī Sūkta (a late work datable to 9th/10th century A.D.) the goddess is called Padminī (one possessed of the lotus), *Padmesthitā* (one standing on lotus), *Padmavarṇā* (the lotus coloured) and Padmasaṁbhavā (the lotus born). She is also called Padmākṣī (lotus eyed), Padmauru (thigh like lotus) and has a lotus-face (Padmānanā), lives in lotus lake (*Sarasijanilayā*), fond of lotus (Padmakriyā) and holds a lotus in her hand and is delighted by the trumpeting of elephants (Hastināda Pramodinī)[14]. She is the goddess of fertility of soil and hence is the goddess of prosperity and riches. She is decked with garlands of gold and silver and is the embodiment of royal splendour bestowing fame (*Kīrti*) and success (*riddhi*) and granting prosperity and long life, health and offspring.

The iconographic features of the goddess are clearly marked in the epics. All trends of thought developed in the earlier phases, took a concrete shape in the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. In the Rāmāyaṇa, Śrī and Lakṣmī have been depicted separately. At his first sight in the Daṇḍakāraṇya, Rāvaṇa thought her to be Padmahināmiva Śriyāṁ. Rāvaṇa also compared Sītā with various goddesses.[15] 'Hreeh Śreeḥ Keertih śubhā Lakṣmīrapsarā vā śubhānane Bhutirvā tvaṁ varārohe ratirvāmvairachāriṇee.' In other context Śitā is compared with Śri (Śitāśrivivarupiṇi) and with Lakṣmi (Śitā Lakṣmirmahābhāgā Sambhutā Vasudhātalat). According to the Mahābhārata Lakṣmi sprang up, seated on a lotus with nectar at the time of churning of the Ocean.[16] For distribution of the nectar there arose a quarrel between the gods and demons (Amritārthe cha Lakṣmyarthe Mohantaṁ Vairmāsritāh). Śrimadbhāgabata also refers to the origin of Śri from the churning of ocean.

Tataschāvirabhut Sākṣacchriramā Bhagavatparā
Rañjayantidiśaḥ kāntyā vidyut soudāminī yathā.[17]

(Then appeared Bhagavatī Śrī Ramā radiating her splendour to all directions like lightening. Lakṣmī was then anointed by the elephants with pouring water from *purṇa kalaśa* amidst gorgeous ceremony. The gods and goddesses decked her by offering their *Āyudhas* and ornaments (hāraṁsaraswati padmamaya, nāgāsca kuṇdale); Sarasvatī offered her necklace, Brahmā gave lotus and the snakes ear ornaments (*Kuṇḍala*). In the epics her association with lotus is emphasised. In some other passages of epic she is described as the consort of Kuvera and the ideological union of goddess of prosperity with the god of riches is easily understandable[18]. The epic also records about

Alakṣmī having the inauspicious opposite character of Lakṣmī. The same epic also indicates that Lakṣmī came to the gods and Alakṣmī to the Asuras[19].

However, the story of her origin recorded in the Mahābhārata became very popular and was universally accepted by the writers of Purāṇas and other sacred literature. This myth formed an important part of many Purāṇas and in course of time many new interesting elements were incorporated. It is in the Purāṇas Śrī and Lakṣmī appeared as a combined goddess and came to be known popularly as Lakṣmī.

In the Purāṇas Śrī is the daughter of Bhṛgi born from his wife Khyāti. Viṣṇu Purāṇa[20] enhances the importance of the goddess. The story of the Purāṇa runs that the sage Dūrvāsā offered Indra a garland of *santanaka* flowers. Indra could not realise the significance of the garland where the goddess resided (Śriyā dhāma) and placed it on his mount Airāvata, who out of ignorance threw it away. Dūrvāsā became furious at the unusual gesture of Indra and cursed him that Śrī would disappear from the three worlds. Hence Śrī disappeared creating havoc in the worlds. As a consequence sacrifices could not be performed. The sun and the moon lost radiance. Other gods lost their energy, power and strength and were humiliated in the hands of demons. Under such a critical juncture all gods approached Visnu who advised them to recover Śrī by churning the milk-ocean.

In order to get back Śrī the gods and demons churned ocean. Lakṣmī emerged from churning as the last object of adoration seated on a full-blown lotus holding a lotus in her hand beaming forth her radiance and beauty. "The sages enraptured by her presence pray her by chanting the mantras of Śrī Sūkta. Viśvāvasu and other Gandharvas sing her praise. Ghṛtaci and other celestial nymphs dance before her. The elephants of the quarters take up the waters in the vases of gold and bathe her. The milk ocean in person presents her with a garland of unfading lotus flowers. Viśvakarmā, the architect of the gods decorates her body with heavenly ornaments. Thus bathed, adorned and decorated she casts herself upon the breast of Hari. When the goddess in the lap of Viṣṇu adds to his glory and splendour and turns her eyes towards the gods, they attain the state of highest bliss, but Vipracitti and other demons are terribly shocked because of this union of the goddess with Viṣṇu."[20] Similar legend is recorded in the Padma Purāṇa[22].

Tataḥ Sphuratkāntimati Vikasikamale Sthitā
Śrīdevī payasastasmādutthitā dhṛtapaṅkajā
Tam tustuvumurdayuktāḥ Śrī sūktena maharṣayaḥ

Then seated on the full-blown lotus, radiant in celestial lustre Śrīdevī emerged from water holding a lotus in hand. The sages propitiated her by chanting Śrīsūkta.

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa[23] records the story of her origin from the ocean, a ceremony performed by gods and goddesses in her honour, donation of their ayudhas to her and her final association with Viṣṇu. The Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa[24] indicates that Lakṣmī emerged as the 7th and the last centity from the churning of ocean dressed with shining ear-rings, garlands of *santanaka* flowers, a garland of *vaidūrya* in her hands and the full-blown lotus. According to the Brahma-vaivarta Purāṇa[25] Lakṣmī is originated from the left part of Kṛṣṇa's body. She is extremely beautiful and is of golden colour and her limbs are warm in winter and cold in summer; she has hard and bulging breasts and big lips. She is ever youthful. Her refulgence excells the radiance of one crore full-moon of the autumn. In accordance with Viṣṇu's wish she appeared in two forms equal in beauty, colour, refulgence, age, in dress and costumes, qualities and virtues, in smile and sweet voice. These two emanations came to be known as Lakṣmī and Rādhikā. Rādhikā was associated with Kṛṣṇa and Lakṣmī with Viṣṇu. This Lakṣmīdevī is Svargalakṣmī in heaven, Rājalakṣmī in the earth and the underworld, Gṛhalakṣmī in the house, Surabhī, the begatter of the cows, Kṣīrodatanyā in the ocean, goddess of corns and riches and prosperity, brilliance of gems etc.

Svarge ca svargalakṣmī śatrusampatsvarupiṇī
Pātāleṣu ca marteṣu rājalakṣmīśca rajasu;
Gṛhalakṣmīrgṛheṣveva Gṛhiṇīca Kalamsaya
Sampatsvarūpa gṛhināṁ sacvamaṅgala maṅgala;
Gavāṁ prusuh sa surabhī dakṣiṇa yajñakāminī
Kṣirodasindhukanyā sā Śrīrūpā padminīṣu;
Śobhārupāca candreca sūryamaṇḍalamanditā
Vibhūṣaṇeṣu ratneṣu diphalesuca jaleṣu;
Nṛpeṣu nṛpapatnviṣu divyastrīṣu gṛhesu ca
Sarvasasyesu vastreṣu sthāneṣu sanskṛteṣu ca;[26]

The Padma Purāṇa[27] records interestingly the curse of Dūrvāsā to Indra; Lakṣmī's disappearance from the three worlds causing sufferings and distress and bringing calamity to the living beings and finally her reappearance from the churning of ocean.

In course of her evolution Lakṣmī was associated with various gods till finally she became the consort of Viṣṇu. Her relation with Indra as recorded in the Mahābhārata has been discussed. Lakṣmī, the goddess of wealth is associated with Kuvera (according to the Mahābhārata) and lives in his palace as his consort. The names of Lakṣmī and Kuvera are mentioned in the Bharahut relief of Yakṣa and Yakṣī. In the ancient Indian art Lakṣmī is represented as Yakṣī and appears with Kuvera.[28] Kuvera is the king of eight ratnas-Nidhiśa, Padma ?, Mahāpadma, Makara, Kacchapa, Mukunda, Nanda Nīla and Śaṅkha.[29] Each *Nidhi* is under the custody of a god. The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa[30] calls these Nidhis as *Padminividya-Padminai nāma yā vidyā Lakṣmistosyasca devatā*. Lakṣmī is the presiding deity of the treasurers who are taken to be the supporters of Padminī vidyā. From this point of view Lakṣmī is related to Kuvera.

The union of Lakṣmī with Viṣṇu is the final development of the epic legend and the Purāṇa accounts. According to the Viṣṇudharmottara[31] Lakṣmī dwells in the breasts of Visnu, and functions like Viṣṇu with equal status. Lakṣmī appears as consort in the different incarnations of Viṣṇu. She was Padmā when Viṣṇu appeared as Āditya, appeared as Dhāraṇī, the consort of Paraśurāma, as Sītā of Ramā, Rukmiṇī of Kṛṣṇa etc. In the incarnation of Nṛsiṁha she was Lakṣmī. In this way she was elevated to very high status in the Vaisnavite pantheon.

FORMS OF LAKṢMI:

In citing the Viṣṇudharmattora various forms of the goddess have been indicated in the preceding page. Dhyānas of Lakṣmī in her various manifestations are recorded below. In order to understand the significant character and role played in the religious life of the people it is deemed necessary to discuss in short the iconographic feature of various forms of Lakṣmī. The general iconic features of Śrī mentioned in a text is:

Pāśākṣamālikambhojasrinibhirjamyasomyayo,
Dhyayeccha Śrīyāṁ trailokyamātaram;

Gouravarṇāṁ surūpāñca sarvālaṅkārabhūṣitām
Roukmapadmavyagrakaraṁ varadāṁ dakṣiṇetu.[32]

The four-armed Śrī holding *pāśa, aṅkuśa akṣamālā padma,* mother of the three worlds, is white-complexioned, beautiful and decked with various ornaments. She should be propitiated.

The Dhyāna in the Hindusarvasva is[33]

Lakṣmī soḍasavarṣīyāṁ dvibhujāṁ śvetapadoparisthitām

Nānālaṅkārabhūṣitāṁ rūpayauvanasampannāṁ bhayavaradām;

vāmahaste Śrīphalaṁ dakṣiṇahaste padmamṛṇālam.

She is two armed having *varada* and *abhaya* poses, seated on a white lotus and well-decked with various ornaments; she is sixteen years of age and is extremely beautiful in her youthful appearance. In her hands are seen *Śrīphala* and a lotus with stalk.

Kamalā, another emanation of Lakṣmī is referred to in connection with discussion of Lakṣmī.

Āsīnā sarasīruhe smitamukhi hastvjairvibhrati
Dānam padmayujabhaye ca vapusā soudaminīsannibha.
Muktāhara virajamanā pṛthulatuṅgastanodbhāsinī
Pāyādvaḥ kamalā kaṭākṣavibhairānandayanti harim[34].

Kamalā, who is seated smilingly on a lotus showing *abhaya* and *varada mudrā* and holding two lotuses; whose body is radiant like lightening, whose bulging breast is decked with garland of pearls and who is enhancing pleasure of Hari through her glance, should protect you all. Gajalakṣmī, very popular form of the goddess has been amply illustrated in the sculptural representation. Her iconographic features are Kāntyā kāñchanasannibhaṁ himagiriprakhayiścaturbhirgajair-Hastotkṣiptahiraṇmayamṛtaghaṭairasichyamānaṁ Śrīyām.

Vibhrāṇam varambyayugmabhayam hastaiḥ kīriṭojjalam
Kṣoumabaddhanitambavimbalalitaṁ vandetravindasthitām.[35]

(I worship such Lakṣmī who is golden coloured and who is anointed with sprinkled nectar by four elephants, as big as Himalaya mountain, who holds lotus in her raised hands and showing *varada* and *abhaya* in lower hands and who is adorned with *mukuṭa* made of special jewels, drapery and seated on a lotus).

According to the Matsya Purāṇa[36] Gajalakṣmī bathed by two elephants should carry *Śrīphala* and lotus in her hands. She is of golden colour and seated on a lotus. Viṣṇudharmottara[37] describes her iconographic feature in the following manner. Lakṣmī when associated with Hari is two armed-holding beautiful lotuses, but when she is depicted alone should have four arms, seated on a lotus pericarp and holding a lotus with a stalk in her right hand and a nectar pot in the left, with a conch and *vilvaphalo* in the remaining ones. Two elephants on either side is sprinkling water on her head from pots presented by celestial maidens. According to the Silparatna[38], Lakṣmī is white-coloured, two armed, holding the lotus and the *vilva* fruit. She wears necklace of pearls and is attended by two maidens waving chamara.

Viṣṇu Purāṇa[39] records that Sarvalokamāheśvarī Lakṣmī appeared from the churning of ocean, Gaṅgā and other rivers arrived to bathe her and elephants bathed her with water from the golden pitcher. *Gaṅgadyaḥ saritastoyayiḥ snānārthmupatasthire*

Diggoyaḥ hemapatrasthamādaya Vimalaṁ jalam
Svapayancakrire devim sarvalokamāheśvarīm

MAHĀLAKṢMĪ

Mahālakṣmī, another form of the goddess is very popular in Purāṇas and tantras. In her iconographic conception she is associated with Śiva. According to the description of Kurmapurāṇa she is three-eyed holding trident and is attended by Śaktis. In the Devī Bhāgavata her iconographic features are:—

Svateyasa parjvalantiṁ sukhadruśyaṁ Manoheraṁ,
Prataptakāñcananibhasobhāṁ mūrtimetīṁ satīm,
Ratnabhūṣaṇa bhūsādhyaṁ śobhitāṁ pītavāsasā,
Isaddhasyaprasannaāsyaṁ Sasvatsusthrira Yauvanaṁ,
Sarvasampatpradatriñca Mahālakṣmīṁ bhajeśubhaṁ[40] ||

I adore Mahālakṣmī who is illumined in her own energy, beautiful looking and attractive hot golden coloured, good-complexioned sati, decked with ornamens of jewels, yellow dress. She has smiling face and is ever youthful and the bestower of prosperity. The Agnipurāna[41] describes her in terrific form. She is four-faced; the human being, horse, buffalo and elephant are eating from her hand. She is three-eyed and ten-armed holding in her right

hands-book, sword, *damaru* etc. in the left hands bell, *khetake, khaṭṭvāṅga* and *triśūla*. She is known as Siddhā Cāmuṇḍā and bestower of *Sarvasiddhi*. According to this iconographic feature she is conceived as the energy of Rudra. As bestower of Siddhi she is Lakṣmī. For holding the book she is Sarasvati. Here Lakṣmī is conceived as the consort of Rudra. She bears similitude with Śivānī and Durgā.

In the Prānatoṣiṇī tantra[42] we come across an interesting legend regarding origin of Mahālakṣmī. In order to create the universe Brahmā engaged himself in deep and strict penance. Having been satisfied in his meditation Parameśvarī appeared on the 9th day of bright fortnight of Caitra (March-April). She was born from the churning of ocean and took shelter in the breast of Viṣṇu. On the 8th day of black fortnight in the month of Bhādra she killed Kolāsura. On this occasion she appeared in the manifestation of Mahāmātaṅginī. She was also born on the 11th day of bright fortnight in the month of Falguna (February-March). In this story we get an idea about her various emanations-consort of Śiva, killer of the demon, Kolāsura, Yogmāyā born from Yaśodā. Despite her association with different aspects of Śakti she has not lost her own identity as Śrīdevī.

In the Agni Purāṇa[43] we get the iconographic description of Śrīdevī. She is four-armed holding lotus in upper arms, while two are in *abhaya* and *varada* poses, she is of golden colour anointed with white sandal paste and decked with silver garland, white dress and armed with ayudhas.

Caturbhujāṁ suvarṇābhāṁ sapadmordhvabhujadvayāṁ
Dakṣiṇabhayahastyabhyāṁ vāmahastavarapradāṁ
Śvetagandhamsukamekaraupyamālyāstradhāriṇīm

Siddha Lakṣmī :

We also get the reference of Siddha-Lakṣmī, who in a real sense is Yuddha-Lakṣmī. She has one hundred faces, two hundred hands, she is fierce-looking and three-eyed and surrounded by Śaktis of similar appearance.

Śataśirṣāṁ trinayanāṁ prativaktraṁ bhayānakaṁ
Hastadviśatasanyuktam svasamakaraśaktibhiḥ[44].

Her close association with lotus symbolising water is the distinguishing feature of the goddess. Śri-Lakṣmī[45] in her iconography is associated with

lotus in three different ways (i) she is *Padmahastā* (holding lotus in her right hand), (ii) she is seated on an expanded lotus serving as *pidha* and (iii) as *Padmavāsinī* or *Padmālayā* form in which she is surrounded by flowing stems and growing leaves and also holding lotus in her hands. "Elephant is significantly associated with Śrī-Lakṣmī in her representations as Gaja-Lakṣmī or Abhiṣeka-Lakṣmī. It is noteworthy that at Bharhut a frail flower like lotus is associated with an elephant standing over it, because of its association with water as the source of all life. The extended lotus in mediaeval period signifying all manifested universe and the lotus as symbol of purity are of secondary development. In the words of Coomaraswamy, the fundamental conception as expressed in later Vedic literature and in the early iconography is that of the waters, as the support, both ultimate and physical, of all life and specially of the each, whence there follows naturally the use as *āsana* and *pīṭha*".[46]

Śrī-Lakṣmī similar to other syncretic cults acquired and assimilated non-Aryan and Aryan traits in course of her evolution. Originally an independent fertility deity or a mother goddess, she underwent several vicissitudes and finally came to be associated with Viṣṇu probably in the Gupta age. With the rise of Tantricism in the later Kuṣāṇ or early Gupta period she was conceived as *Śakti* of Viṣṇu, in which capacity she played a formidable role in the post-Gupta theological speculations of the Pañcarātra Vaiṣṇavas.[47]

The earliest representation of the goddess is in the Gaja-Lakṣmī form. She is depicted standing or seated on a lotus between two elephants, each standing on either side pouring water from a *kalaśa* on the goddess. The reliefs of Sanchi, Bharhut, Bodh-Gaya, Khandagiri (in Orissa) etc. are of such types.[48]

In the Gaja-Lakṣmī form she is depicted on the Ujjayanī[49] and the uninscribed Kausambi coins of Viśākhadeva and Śivadatta of Ayodhya and the Kṣatrapa rulers of Mathura. The depiction of Śrī-Lakṣmī on the coins of rulers of different faiths suggests that the benign and wealth-giving aspects of the goddess received universal acceptance in India.

The abhiṣeka or Gaja-Lakṣmī type of the goddess appears on the seals and terracottas. From about 2nd century B.C. depiction of Gaja-Lakṣmī on coins, seals, terracottas and on the stone-gate ways became a common feature. At Bharhut is seen the goddess seated cross-legged on a full-blown

lotus with her folded hands while two elephants standing on either si... are pouring water from two inverted jars held in their trunks.[50] On the gateways at Sanchi similar representation of the goddess Lakṣmī is marked. In one frieze at the site[51] the image is standing on a full-blown lotus with folded hands, the two elephants standing either side on lotuses sprinkle water over her from upturned jars held in their trunks. The association of a Yakṣa *mithuna* standing in between two jars is a typical feature here.

From about the 1st century B.C. the depiction of Gaja-Lakṣmī was a favourite subject-matter. In the southern gateway of the Sanchi stupa Gaja-Lakṣmī is seen standing on a full-bloom lotus holding a lotus in her right hand, while the left hand is placed on her hip being anointed by two elephants. The whole surface of the lintel is covered with lotus stalks, leaves birds and flowers and also a pair of *haṁsa*. In another frieze Gaja-Lakṣmī is seated on the pericarp of a fully blossomed lotus. The goddess is represented in all the gateways of Sanchi indicating her significance in the pre-Chistian era. The happily balanced combination of supple, grace and hierarchical symmetry nothing but draws admiration[52].

Lakṣmī in the Kuśāna period is represented in two armed form with a lotus in her left hand and the right hand in *abhaya*. In certain cases she has lotuses in both her hands. The two elephants as represented at Bharhut and Sanchi are seen in the same fashion sprinkling water over her head. In some sculptures of this period Lakṣmī is represented with Kubera, the Lord of wealth and prosperity. Her association with Kubera reminds us of the story of Mahābhārata. A syncretic sculpture from the Mathura Museum[54] showing Lakṣmī with lotus, Hariti with a child and Kubera indicates her association not only with the deities of Brahmanical pantheon but also with the Buddhist goddess.

Gaja-Lakṣmī and Śri-Lakṣmī are the favourite goddesses of the Guptas, and hence appear on their coins and seals. Śrī-Lakṣmī is represented in various ways on the Gupta gold coins. In the standard type of Samundragupta's gold coins the goddess is illustrated on a high-backed throne holding a noose in the right hand and a cornucopia, the symbol of fertility in the left hand.[55] She also appears on the reverse of the Lyrist type of Samundragupta coins in the same fashion and with the same attributes. Two gold coins of Samundragupta from Orissa, one discovered from Lalitgiri and

handed over to the Orissa State Museum by Prof. K.S. Behera of Utkal University and the other in a private collection of Khallikote represent Gaja-Lakṣmī in the manner noted above. Gaja-Lakṣmī appeared during this period on the seals also. The seal of Rajagṛha Viṣaya[56] contains a standing figure of Gaja-Lakṣmī flanked by an elephant and a corpulent male figure which may be identified as Yakṣa. There are several seals of this period showing Gaja-Lakṣmī on the lotus. In the Gupta period Lakṣmī is found closely associated with Kubera and that she is the goddess of wealth and prosperity, is clear from her representation of pouring out coins and in some cases coins are shown tickling down from the hand of the goddess. Her conception as the goddess of wealth is emphasised by placing a conch-shell in one of the seals of Bhita.[57] In some of the seals of this period lion is associated as her vehicle. Here it may be mentioned that the Guptas revived brahmanical religion with more emphasis on Vaisnavism. Viṣṇu is conceived as the supreme God and Laksmī is her consort. The Gupta inscriptions record Śrī-Lakṣmī with Viṣṇu. The Junagarh inscription of Skandagupta[58], the Gwalior stone inscription of Mihirkula,[59] the Saranath inscription of Prakaṭāditya record Viṣṇu as the permanent adbode of Lakṣmī and Śrī as the wife of Vāsudev etc. bespeaking the popularity and significance of Lakṣmī. The rise of Viṣṇu to power in this period means the rise of Lakṣmī as the popular goddess and as his consort. Conch-shell, one of the attributes of Viṣṇu was associated with Lakṣmī from this period. The sculptural representation of Lakṣmī with Viṣṇu and Garuda also started from the Gupta period. The Anantaśāyi Viṣṇu sculpture at Deogarh[60] illustrating Viṣṇu on the coils of the saver hooded serpent and Lakṣmī sitting at his feet and massaging his right leg, is one of the examples of Gupta sculpture of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī. Another panel is also preserved in the same shrine. It is thus clear that depiction of Lakṣmī in stone with her usual attributes became very common from the Gupta epoch.

The representation of Caja-Lakṣmī in particular became a common feature of the temple architecture from about 7th century A.D. It is therefore obvious that the conception of Lakṣmī as the symbol of auspiciousness and sacredness was well-known in the society and hence was examplified in the temples, the main medium of expression in visual form.

The Paraśurāmesvar temple at Bhubaneswar, the best preserved specimen of the earliest group of temples in Orissa and one of the most

lavishly decorated edifice (7th century A.D.) contains a Gaja-Lakṣmī figure in the lintel of the door jamb. This is more narrative in treatment than the standard hieratic pose adopted in the later temples. One elephant is sprinkling water over her and the other is returning from the lotus pound. The scene contains at the corners the seated figures. The lintel continues horizontally above the windows flankling the door, where the scenes of *Liṅgapūjā* and the capture of wild elephants are marked. The lintel of the Svrṇajāleśvara temple (7th century A.D.) depicts a figure of Gaja-Lakṣmī. The door frame is embellished (in the lintel) with four-armed Pārvatī seated in padmāsanā rather than the standard Gaja-Lakṣmī motif. The doorframe of Śiśireśvara (8th c.A.D.) temple at Bhubaneswar comprises three bands of scrollwork, the outer two decorated with *jalapatra* and *ratikera* scroll work respectively, but the inside band is devoid of decoration. The lintel is decorated with an image of Gaja-Lakṣmī.

The door frame of a corner shrine in the compound of Kanakeśvar temple, Kualo (9th century A.D.) in the district of Dhenkanal depicts alongwith the scroll work Dvārapālas, Gaja-Lakṣmī and immediately above a scene of *liṅga pūjā*. The Śiva-liṅga here is of unusual size measuring about 5ft including its yonipatta. The door lintel of the Bhṛṅgeśvara temple (8th/9th century A.D.) at Bajrakot in the district of Dhenkanal is decorated with an image of Gaja-Lakṣmī which is badly damaged showing only her head and the lotus. The sanctum doorframe in the Manikedar Śiva temple at Suklesvara (8th/9th century A.D.) consists of the three hands of scroll work, Gaṅgā and Yamunā in place of the *dvārapālas* (a rare feature in Orissan temple) and a figure of Gaja-Lakṣmī in the central part of the lintel.

The recent excavation at Baṅkāda in Puri district brought to light a Śaivite temple complex of the Śailodbhavas of Koṅgoda.[61] The site is located on the river Sālimā, about 35 kms from Banpur. A stone inscription of the excavated site mentions the name Raṇabhīta, one of the kings of the Śailodbhava dynasty. The temple site exposed the *Pañchāyatana* temple complex alongwith a series of cult images like Gaṇeśa, Cāmuṇḍā, Kārtikeya, Pārvatī, Siṁhavāhinī Durgā, Sūrya, Naṭarāja and various other worked stones. The door-frame broken to pieces has the three band decoration containing the conventional Gaja-Lakṣmī image in the lowest band of the lintel. The temples and the sculptures here are assignable to the 6th/7th

.century A.D. The Badgaon Śiva temple situated near a tributary of the Rusikulya river adjacent to Bhañjanagar of Ganjam district is in a very good state of preservation. In general outline and decoration and the *tri-ratha* plan of the *bāḍa* the temple resembles Parasurameswar temple at Bhubaneswar, though it is of later date. The excellent images of Ganeśa, Kārtikeya, Mahiṣamardinī (one enshrined as Pārśvadevatā), Umā-Maheśvara, Harihara, Gaṅgā and Yamunā, Viṣṇu, Durgā, Ajaikapāda, Varāha etc. beautify the sanctum in a very systematic and balanced manner. The door-frame comprising four bands of scroll work contains a beautiful image of Gaja-Lakṣmī in the lintel in abieratic pose. The Madhukesvar temple (8th/9th century A.D.) at Mukhalingam (now in Andhra Pradesh) on the left bank of the river Vaṁsodhāra. Stylistically it can be assigned to first half of the 9th century.[62] Like the temples of present day Orissa the door frame of this edifice exhibits exquisite carvings. The eastern door frame of the Jagamohana is called the loveliest entrance to a temple in the whole of India.[63] The four-bended jamb is decorated with a scene depicting Kṛṣṇa and Balarām in Kaṁsa's court, mithuna couples, profuse scroll work and Gaja-Lakṣmī in the lintel.[64] The door frame on the north side is very interesting containing in the niches in a clockwise manner Brahmāṇī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Gaja-Lakṣmī, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī, Camuṇḍā and Gaṇeśa. All the figures except Vārāhī and Cāmuṇḍā are seated in Lalitāsana.

The door frame of the *Jagamohana* of Siṁhanāth temple on the Mahānadī (8th century A.D.) comprises two recessed jambs on either side framed by a projecting pilaster which is divided into four niches superimposed one above the other which contain Vīrabhadra and Saptamātṛkas. Gaja-Lakṣmī is seen in the centre of the lintel seated in *Padmāsana*. The door jamb of the sanctum is less decorative containing the figures of Aṣṭagraha and Gaja-Lakṣmī in the same pose as in the Jagamohana. It is interesting to note that the temple of Siṁhanātha on Mahānadī and the Madhukesvar temple at Mukhalingam are the only two surviving examples of mother goddesses appearing on the door frame.

The Someśvara temple of Ranipur Jharial in the Titlagarh sub-division of Balangir district, the largest of all the temples at the site, is peculiar in having images of four different deities-Someśvara, Kārtikeya, Buddha and Lakṣmī. On the basis of an inscription on the architrave, the temple was

constructed by the famous Śaiva ascetic Gaganaśivācārya.[65] Gaja-Lakṣmī here is seated in Lalitāsana holding a lotus in her left hand while the right hand in *varada.* The two elephants, one in each side standing on the full blown lotus, are pouring water from the upturned kalaśa. The image is in a good state of preservation. The Koseleśvar temple at Baidyanāth on the bank of the river Tel, about 15 kms from Sonepur in Balangir district (though renovated several times) preserve several beautiful images. One of the most beautiful ones is an image of Gaja-Lakṣmī in the door frame in the east. She is seated in Lalitāsana rather than in Padmāsana as is marked in the earlier temples. There is an image of Gaja-Lakṣmī alongwith interesting sculptures of Śaivite pantheon in the Kapilesvar temple of Charda near Binka of Balangir district. The door lintel here is beautifully carved with scroll work, the intertuing nagas. Śiva and Pārvatī are playing chess. The Nīlamādhava temple of Gandharāḍi contains a badly worn image of Gaja-Lakṣmī on the door lintel seated in Padmāsana holding a long-stemmed lotus in both the hands. The enshrined image of Nīlamādhava (carved in chlorite stone measuring 6' high) is flanked in the lower corners by Śrīdevī and Bhūdevī. Śrīdevī here is the earliest representation with Viṣṇu in Orissa. Śrīdevī stands in *Samabhaṅga* pose with a stemmed lotus in her right hand while the left is placed on her thigh. The Rāmeśvara temple and other shrines in the compound at Boud, depict Gaja-Lakṣmī images on the *dvāra-lalāṭatbimba* panel over the door way. Lakṣmī in *Lalita* pose becomes standardised on the temples belonging to 10th/11th century and later.

The temple at Khiching belonging to the Bhañjas of Khijjiṅgakoṭṭa in Mayurbhanj district adhere to the indegenous temple traditions. The temples here are made of chlorite stone and are devoid of Jagamohana. The temples of the site are elegant in appearance, well-proportionated in architectural arrangement and well-balanced in sculptural depiction. The door-frame of the temples in three bends exhibit peculiar feature alongwith the scroll work. The human and animal figures are depicted in pairs alternatively on either side climbing a vine. Gaja-Lakṣmī in the lintels are seated in *Lalitāsana.* The temple can be dated tentatively to the last part of the 9th or the Ist part of the 10th century A.D.

The Bhīmeśvar temple at Mukhalingam built during the reign of Vajrahasta IV (980-1015 A.D.) is an excellent edifice from the view points of

sculptural art and architecture. Of the many images in the temple Nṛsiṁha, Mahiṣamardinī, Gaja-Lakṣmī in the door lintels of both sanctum and Jagamohana and Umāmaheswar are of striking importance. The images of Gaja-Lakṣmī carved in chlorite stone are seated in Lalitāsana flanked by two elephants standing on the full blown lotuses and pouring water on the deity from the inverted jars. The Vārāhī temple at Chaurasi, one of the earliest temples in Orissa incorporating the new architectural features, (a temple of Khākharā order) assigned to Vārāhī, one of the mātṛkas depicts the three bended doorway. The Gaja-Lakṣmī is seated in the cross-legged position. The pot-bellied female dvārapālas on the door frame depicted in the style of enshrined Vārāhī image are very interesting. The panel on the lintel of the Tīrthesvar temple, Bhubaneswar is decorated with Gaja-Lakṣmī. She is seated in Lalitāsana flanked by a lotus flower supporting the elephants. The door frame of the sanctum of the Muktesvar temple, Bhubaneswar has in the lintel a beautiful image of Gaja-Lakṣmī seated with legs crossed confirming to the earlier tradition. On the other hand, the doorjamb of the Jagamohana is decorated with a four-armed male figure flanked by an emaciated ascetic. Similarly the Brahmeswar temple at Bhubaneswar (11th century A.D.) contains a figure of Gaja-Lakṣmī in the central part of the lintel of Jagamohana. The stylised elephants are seen standing on the lotus. The *Khākharā* temple of Brahmāṇī at Abhana of Balasore district made of laterite stone (in broken condition) exhibits a series of beautiful sculptures like Gaja-Lakṣmī, Mahisamardini, Saptamātṛkas and sculptures of Buddhist and Jain pantheons. Gaja-Lakṣmī is seen in the detached lintel made of chlorite stone. She is seated in *padmāsana* holding a lotus in her left hand and right hand in *varada*. The temple here as well as the sculptures may be assignable to the 10th/11th century A.D. There is a beautiful image of Gaja-Lakṣmī in conventional form in the lintel of the sanctum of Somanāth temple at Ghoradia near Delang of Puri district (late 11th century A.D.). I came across an image of Gaja-Lakṣmī in the lintel of *Jagamohana* of Parṇeśvara temple at Bhillideuli near Nimapada. The temple is assignable to the Ist part of the 12th century A.D. Gaja-Lakṣmī here is seated in *Lalitāsana* indicating a change over from the earlier pose of *Padmāsana*. A figure of Gaja-Lakṣmī appears in the lintel of Kedāreśvari temple (early part of 12th century A.D.) at Bhubaneswar. She is seated in *Lalitāsana* flanked by the elephants in the usual fashion.

While dealing with the cult of Lakṣmī in her various manifestations I feel it expedient to refer to the temple of Jagannāth at Puri and Lakṣmī temple in the same compound. The construction of these two temples by Coḍagaṅgadeva (1078-1147 A.D.) in the Ist half of 12th century A.D. is one of the greatest landmarks in the history of temple architecture of Orissa and in the history of Vaisnavaism. This mighty monument with the enshrined god Jagannāth occupied a unique position in the cultural and religious life of the people. The rise of the cult of Jagannāth significantly meant the rise of the cult of Lakṣmī. Lakṣmī, the Goddess of wealth and prosperity was given a special significance as the consort of Jagannāth or Viṣṇu. A series of legends and literature developed concerning Jagannāth, Lakṣmī and other deities enshrined in the Jagannāth temple complex further heightening the importance of Jagannāth and the associated cults.

A story in the Oriya Mahā-Lakṣmī Purāṇa[67] (possibly coined during the Gaṅga period) highlights the importance of Lakṣmī in the religious life of the people and her role in the religious complex of Śrī Jagannāth. The story runs as follows. Lakṣmī used to go round the *nagaras* and *grāmas* particularly in every Thursday to mark her pūjā performance by the people. She bestowed her boon and grace on those who propitiated her with austerity. On one occasion she went out of the temple before sunrise to watch the performance of her *pūjā*. She was shocked to see many people sleeping neglecting her propitation particularly on the special occasion. On her wandering she wondered to see the nice *pūjā* arrangement of Śriyā a lady of Caṇḍāla caste in her house. Śriyā was traditionally attached to temple sweeping and was a devout devotee of Jagannāth and Lakṣmī. Lakṣmī could not but stop to receive the *pūjā* of Śriyā. She appeared in her *pūjā maṇḍapa* and bestowed grace on Śriyā indicating her to ask for a boon. Śriyā in sheer devotion prayed for one lakh of cows, wealth and prosperity, offsprings and finally immorality. She granted all the boons except the terms of immortality.

In the meantime Balarāma, the elder brother of Jagannāth was in the jungle for hunting. He visualised the act of Lakṣmī in mediation. Instantly he came back to Śrīmandira and intimated Jagannāth of the activity of Lakṣmī. He asked him to divorce Lakṣmī for her vile act of stepping into the house of an untouchable lady. In an angry mood he further told that if he would disobey his orders he (Jagannāth) should live with her in the ward of Caṇḍāla

caste. In reply Jagannāth retorted that we should sanctify her for her disdainful act. Burnt in fury Balarām decided to leave the temple for good. As the obedient younger brother Jagannāth awaited the arrival of Lakṣmī in the *Siṁhadvāra*.

After offering boons Lakṣmī came back in a very happy mood but was surprised to see her consort Jagannāth at the main entrance of the temple. She enquired of his coming out of the temple. Jagannāth looked aghast and could not open his mouth for sometime and finally communicated the order of his elder brother. He asked her not to enter the temple. He also scolded her in filthy language. The angry goddess asked him to divorce her in accordance with the traditional custom, but Jagannāth denied saying that such a custom was not prevalent in his caste. Burst in anger Lakṣmī reminded him of the condition laid down at the time of her marriage given by her father Varuṇa, the lord of ocean. She further reminded him of the boon offered to her that she would be allowed to go round the *grāmas* and *nagaras* on every Thursday. Jagannāth was not in a position to hear her at all. A severe quarrel arose between the husband and wife. Being unable to tolerate the harsh behaviour of Lakṣmī, Jagannāth spoke ill of her father Varuṇa against the roaring sound of whom he had to cause construction of Meghanāda wall around the temple. Her sound was as harsh as her father. At this tense moment she cast an obligm-glance and reminded him of his own caste and also of taking food from the untochables like Bidura and Jārā Śavara. If under such situations he could maintain his caste entity how could she be blamed for accepting Pūjā in the house of a Caṇḍāla ? Finally Jagannāth told that she would be given one *māṇa* of rice for her livelihood to which she bluntly refused. In an angry mood she put off all the ornaments one after another and handed over to Jagannāth, telling him to offer those to his second wife. Finally she said in a chocked voice that she would all along be chaste and faithful to her husband, the Lord of Universe. Before leaving the temple gate Lakṣmī cast a glance and cursed that both brothers would suffer from pangs of thirst and hunger for long twelve years and nobody would come forward to feed them and offer them wearings. After twelve years they would be free from the curse by taking food from the hands of *Caṇḍāluṇi*.

Under her direction Viśvakarmā built a big palace for her. She then called for the eight *vetālas* and ordered them to spoil the kitchen and fetch all

the treasures and other belongings from the *Ratnabhaṇḍāra*. They were afraid of entering the temple when the Lords were awake. She instantly ordered the goddess of sleep to lull the gods asleep. The vetālas took away all the cooked and uncooked food, in the kitchen. Finally, the *Ratnakhaṭa* was also taken away. The *vetāls* were suitably rewarded and sent back to Vaikuṇṭha. She called on Sarasvatī asking her to direct the people not to offer food and drink to Jagannāth and Balarām. She volunteered to keep up the prestige of Lakṣmī.

Both the brothers woke up early in the morning, but were surprised to see the temple compound empty ; no attendant was available to serve them. Jagannāth told the elder brother that they had to suffer for discarding Lakṣmī. The angry Balarām threatened him not to utter the name of Lakṣmī any more. In her absence they would cook food themselves. After the morning wash they entered the store but could not see anything left. By chance Balabhadra got a brass ring and desired to store it. After examining the ring Jagannāth asked the brother to throw it away as it was a brass ring. The disappointed brothers repaired to the kitchen. The elder brother stood at the gate of the kitchen and the younger brother entered in. Awaiting at the door the gluttoneous Balarām sounded Jagannāth not to take everything. But nothing was there in the kitchen to eat. The exhausted brothers then came to the granaries which were totally empty. Having no other alternative they proceeded to the Indradyumna tank to drink water ; the tank was unfortunately devoid of water. They came back to the temple and spent days and nights in fasting. Balarām asked Jagannāth to maintain their livelihood by begging food. Wherever they went for begging they were turned out by the residents ; they came to the house of Baḍapaṇḍā with a hope of getting food. There they were treated warmly. When the wife of Baḍapaṇḍā proceeded to serve them with food the cooking pots which were full of cooked rice and vegetable curries were found empty. Thinking them to be bereaved of Lakṣmī (*Lakṣmīchhaḍā*) she turned them out angrily. They went from door to door but nobody entertained them. The tired brothers thought to eat lotus-seed from the Padma tank, which was also found full of mud. Then they proceeded to drink saline water from the sea. In the meantime under the orders of Lakṣmī the Sun radiated scorching rays. As a result it was difficult for them to move on extremely hot sand.

In such a critical situation the palace of Lakṣmī came to their sight. Balabhadra rushed to the lions gate of the palace. The female attendants of

the palace recognised him but first turned him out. Śrī Jagannāth who was following him at a distance was intimated of the rough treatment of the attendants. Both brothers again came to the gate chanting the hymns of Vedas. Mahālakṣmī was pleased at the advent of her husband and Balarām. She sent her attendants to enquire their where abouts. They eagerly wanted food. The attendants told them that the palace belonged to a Caṇḍāluṇi. Should they take food in the house of a Caṇḍāluṇi ? The hungry brothers consented to cook food themselves if they were provided with new earthen pots and the food materials. Everything was supplied to them ; they started cooking. She made a plan in such a way that they failed to cook food. At last the angry Balarām dashed the earthen-pots to pieces. In the meantime bathing oil was served to them requesting them to take bath. Ultimately the Lords agreed to take cooked food from the hands of Caṇḍāluṇi. Lakṣmī eagerly cooked all items of food offered to them in Śrī mandira. They took their bath and ate all items of cooked food to their full satisfaction. Balarām indicated that the preparation was similar to what Lakṣmī used to cook in the Śrī mandira. Both brothers then realised the absence and significance of Lakṣmī. Ultimately Balarām asked his younger brother to search for Lakṣmī. Jagannāth indicated that they were in the palace of Lakṣmī. At last re-union of Jagannāth and Lakṣmī took place and all went back to the temple with all the materials taken away after her separation.

It is not definitely known as to the time of the coinage of the story ; undoubtedly the story has a historical significance. Most probably the legend and the worship of Lakṣmī amply spread after her enshrinement in the Lakṣmī temple in the Jagannāth temple complex. The story all through emphasised the preponderance of Lakṣmī in the material world.

Another important aspect of the story is that there is no caste bar in propitiation of the goddess Lakṣmī. This ecclectic attitude prevails upon in the service pattern of Jagannāth temple where people irrespective of castes and creed can partake food within the temple compound.

The story further alludes that the association of Lakṣmī with Jagannāth is almost enviable failing which the latter is powerless and even unable to maintain his livelihood. Most probably from this time the *Gurubāra Māṇabasā* festival became very popular in every household of Orissa.

It has been pointed out in the preceeding pages, that the construction of Lakṣmī temple ushered in a new era of development of the cult particularly in Orissa. Here it is necessary to deal with the image of Lakṣmī enshrined in the temple as the presiding goddess and as pārśvadevatā. The presiding goddess made of chlorite stone is seated on double lotus pedestal in a *padmāsana*. She is four-armed holding the fully blossomed lotus in upper hands while lower left in *varada* pose holds a *ratna* and the lower right arm is broken from the elbow. The two elephants standing on the lotuses on each side are anointing the deity by pouring water from the inverted jars. She is well-ornamented with bejewelled *kīriṭamukuṭa*, rounded ear ornament, three beaded necklaces, *Vājubandha*, armlets, waist girdles and anklets. Since she is covered with clothes and flowers it is difficult to examine her in detail. However, this is an elegant image and being the bestower of wealth and material prosperity revered by all. There is a belief that pilgrims while going round the Jagannāth temple complex should sit for a while in the Lakṣmī temple so that the goddess of prosperity is satisfied and fulfils their desire.

The Pārśvadevatās of the temple are all statues of Lakṣmī in the same form as the presiding goddess. The Pārśvadevatā in the southern niche (in chlorite stone 3' x $1^1/_2$") is seated in *padmāsana* on a double lotus. She is four-armed holding in two upper hands the stalks of fully blossomed lotuses over which are seen two elephants pouring water from the inverted jars over her head. Her lower left hand is in *Varada* and also holds ratna, while the lower right is broken from the wrist. She is well-decked with bejewelled *Kirṭamukuṭa*, rounded ear ornaments, three-stringed necklace, *Vājubandha*, armlets and anklets. The western niche of the temple contains an image of Lakṣmī made of same chlorite stone and seated in the similar fashion like that of the statue in the northern niche. Only difference is that she is associated with two female attendants, one on each side standing with the lotus stalk. The image in the northern niche is similar in style to two others with the difference that she is seated in a *makara-toraṇa* with ornamentation at the upper portion adding a glamour to the *kiriṭamukuṭa* and the whole pedestal. The image of Gaja-Lakṣmī in the same fashion are depicted over the *jāli* window of *Jagamohana* in the northern side, in the lintels of both *Jagamohana* and sanctum.

Depiction of Gaja-Lakṣmī in the door lintels of temple and with the images of Viṣṇu became more common during the Gaṅga period. The exquisitely carved image of Gaja-Lakṣmī in the door lintels of Maṇināgeśvar temple (in the district of Balasore), Dakṣapada (on Prach valley) in the Virañcinārāyaṇ temple, Palia (in Balasore district), Mahāvināyaka temple, Chandikhol (in Cuttack district), Varuṇeśvar and Makareśvar temples at Bhubaneswar (all built in the 13th century A.D.) may be cited for reference.

Lakṣmī appeared as Śrīdevī either with Bhūdevī or Sarasvatī with the image of Viṣṇu and his incarnations particularly from 12th/13th century onwards. The enshrined image of Nīlamādhava (Viṣṇu) in the twin temple of Gandhradi is flanked in the lower corners by Śrīdevī and Bhūdevī. Included among the scattered images loosely placed on one side of the Caṇḍī temple of Saiṁtala in the district of Bolangir is a Viṣṇu figure flanked by miniature statuettes of ten incarnations and Bhūdevī and Śrīdevī. The Viṣṇu image in the Chandesvar temple at Tangi (of Puri district) is elegant in appearance and excellent in workmanship. He is flanked at the lower corners by Śrīdevī and Bhūdevī. Colossal images of Varāha and Nṛsiṁha in Jagannāth temple (12' x 5' in size, made of chlorite cist) with excellent workmanship are associated with beautifully carved images of Śrīdevī and Sarasvatī. Of the various images of Viṣṇu associated with Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī mention may be made of Mādhava of Narasimhapur village (Prachi valley), Madhava and Pārśvadevatās of Mādhava temple at Mādhavānanda (Prachi valley), the images of Mādhava in the sculpture shed of Niali adjacent to the Śobhaneśvar temple, Alārnāth of Brahmagiri (in Puri district), Satyanārāyaṇa in the precinct of Jagannāth temple, Puri, Mādhava images of Kenduli sculpture shed, (Lakṣmī-Nṛsiṁha of Chaurasi), Varāhanāth, at Jajpur and several other images of Viṣṇu scattered in Orissa.

Lakṣmī thus in various forms exerts tremendous influence in the Hindu world. She is even more widespread in the folk communities. A particular *vrata* known as *Guruvāra vrata* is observed in honour of the deity on every Thursday and more gorgeously in the month of *Mārgaśira* (November-December). In certain parts of Orissa the *Guruvāra vrata* observed in the month of Mārgaśira is popularly known as *Māṇavasā* i.e. a corn measure (maṇa) filled with new corns is placed on a pedestal and ceremonially worshipped as Lakṣmī the goddess of agriculture. The Padma Purāṇa[68]

furnishes an interesting story of the *vrata* alongwith the procedure of worship of the goddess on all the Thursdays of Mārgaśira. On the first Thursday of Mārgaśira the goddess is propitiated with sweets praying for general well-being and material prosperity. The offerings are distributed among Brahmins and the family members. On the second Thursday cakes, on the third Thursday rice mixed with curd and on the fourth Thursday *syamaka* and paddy are offered. This *vrata* reminds us of the harvesting of corn and Lakṣmī's association with agriculture. It is therefore, natural for agriculturists to worship her with pomp and grandeur for material prosperity.

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35

PLACES OF BUDDHIST INTEREST IN ORISSA

S.K. MOHARANA

Buddhism was a product of the socio-intellectual movement of the 6th century B.C. It evolved as a protest against Hinduism. It is a religion of kindness, humanity and equality which centres round the teachings of Lord Buddha. Very constructive as Buddha was in outlook, he accepted the best of the systems current in his time and discarded what he deemed to have no merit for leading men in the path of gaining knowledge and emancipation. Hence, Buddhism in its inherent strength and potentiality succeeded, in the long run, in spreading over the whole of India and the then known world. In course of time, three distinct branches grew out of it, differing widely from each other in all aspects. The earlier form of it is known as *Śrāvakayāna* or *Hinayāna* and contained the ethics preached by the Sakyamuni while the later development *Mahāyāna* evolved a sound philosophy around it and the latest phase known as *Tantrayāna* or Tantric Buddhism evolved a system of *Sādhana* and side by side maintained the philosophical aspects of *Mahāyāna*. These three developments of Buddhism cast remarkable impacts on the life and spirit of this land and found expression in its philosophy, literature, art and architecture. Orissa having a strong cultural background from time immemorial, could not remain away from the influence of Buddhism.

In the long past Orissa was a vast region on the entire east of India, the most famous names of it being Kaliṅga, Utkala and Oḍra. It acquired recognition and prominence and extended far beyond the present one. It is a know fact that Buddha did not visit Kaliṅga. But Kaliṅga was not unknown to him. From some Chinese sources it is known that he declared Kaliṅga as one among the twelve places where perfection could easily be attained. Tapassu

and Bhallika, the two merchant-brothers were the first disciples of Buddha. In the eighth week after his Enlightenment, when the Blessed One was enjoying the bliss of emancipation at the foot of the *Rājāyatana* tree, those two merchant-brothers offered him rice-cakes and lump of honey and became his disciples.

In Aśoka's Rock Edict XIII, there is a mention that the Kaliṅga war brought misfortune both to the Brāhmaṇas and the Śramaṇas, which make it clear that Buddhism was prevalent in Kaliṅga before Aśoka's campaign. The Kaliṅga war transformed Caṇḍ-Āśoka (Aśoka, the valient) into Dharm-Āśoka (Aśoka, the saint) and thus was a turning point in his life. He accepted Buddhism and succeeded in his mission of making the religion popular in and outside India. Thus the very soil of Kaliṅga proved itself a great stimulus to the growth and spread of the faith. Kaliṅga comprised a large portion of the eastern coast and Dantapura which was a famous Buddhist site then was the capital of Kaliṅga. One of the molar teeth of Buddha which was brought from Buddha's pyre at Kuśinagara, was preserved in a magnificent *stupa* at Dantapura. Dantapura is identified with a place located to the north of Gopalpur (in the district of Ganjam) a famous sea-port in that period. After the decline of Dantapura Puṣpagiri monastery became prominent. It had religious importance as late as the 7th century A.D. The location of Puṣpagiri has not yet been satisfactorily determined.

Pāli is considered as the language of the territory of the ancient Kaliṅga by some scholars. As the canonical literature of Buddhism is written in Pāli, one is made to believe that Kaliṅga had a great share in the missionary activities through the medium of Pāli.

From some old Buddhist texts like *Gaṇḍavyuha*, the *Laṅkāvatāra* etc. and their Chinese translations, it is ascertained that *Mahāyāna* Buddhism had its origin and early propagation in Dakṣiṇāpatha which included Kaliṅga and also Tosali, the ancient capital of Orissa and the latest date of such propagation cannot be beyond the first century of the Christian era.

The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, who visited India during the 7th century A.D. gives an account of Mahāyānic *Sthaviras* of Kaliṅga. He also states that Buddhism was in thriving condition in south Kosala and was in decline in Koṅgoda.

Tantrayāna or Tantric Buddhism was a growth within the fold of *Mahāyāna* in a marked way. As Orissa had a vital role to play in evolving *Mahāyāna* Buddhism and was an important territory of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, it can be very safely concluded that it had also an important part to play for emergence of *Tantrayāna.* It has already been proved by the scholars that Orissa was the Uddiyana Pītha, the most famous Pītha among the four Tantric Pīthas in India.

Tantrayāna comprised *Vajrayāna, Sahajayāna* and *Kālacakrayāna.* Indrabhuti, the king of Sambhal identified with modern Sambalpur, was the propounder of *Vajrayāna* and his sister Lakṣminkarā was the propounder of *Sahajayāna.* Pītopāda, an erudite scholar of Tantrayāna is said to have propounded *Kālacakrayāna.*

Since *Mahāyāna* Buddhism and Tantric Buddhism were very popular in Orissa, they influenced the then life and literature of the Orissan society. In course of time, the evolution of a new pantheon of gods and goddesses in Buddhism gave full scope to the creative genius of the artists and sculpturers of the early medieval Orissa, who shaped them in conformity with the widely varied Buddhist iconography and placed them in the monasteries and other sancturies of Buddhist importance.

Buddhist remains and deities are found throughout Orissa including Ratnagiri, Lalitagiri, Udayagiri, Ramesvara, Kulanagiri, Vajragiri, Brahmavana, Khaira, Chaudwar, Kundeswara, Baneswaranasi, Tarapur, Marichipur, Mudupur, Nasikakotian, Dihasahi and Cuttack town in the district of Cuttack; Achutrajpur, Kuruma, Aragarh, etc. in the district of Puri; Ayodhya, Khadipada, Jayarampur, Solampur etc. in the district of Balasore; Baripada, Khiching and Udala in the district of Mayurbhanj; Talcher and Angul in the district of Dhenkanal; Paragalpur and Baudh in the district of Phulbani; Buddhakhol in the district of Ganjam and Ganiapali in the district of Sambalpur. Besides these sites, the Prachi valley in the district of Puri and Cuttack yields a large number of Buddhist images.

Ratnagiri is located on the bank of the river Keluā, a branch of the Birupā in the district of Cuttack. It was renowned for its Buddhist culture and by the 8th century A.D. it developed into a great seat of Buddhist learning. It had earned name and fame as a centre of Buddhist *Yoga.* It is evident from the Tibetan account that Bodhiśrī and Naropa preached *Yoga* at Ratnagiri.

Great teachers of *Yoga* were residing at Ratnagiri to teach this subject to scholars coming from various parts of India and even abroad. Ācārya Pito was one of the teachers at Ratnagiri and Avadhuti, Bodhiśrī and Naropa were his chief disciples. Ācārya Prajñā had to study *Yoga* here after completing 18 years of learning in different institutions of India including the university of Nalanda. The excavation conducted by the Archaeological Survey of India exposed the remains of a great Buddhist establishment consisting of magnificent monasteries, colossal *stupas*, temples, sculptures etc. Two quadrangular monasteries lying adjacent to each other have come to light. The Buddhist establishment revealed by the overwhelming number of portable monolithic *Stupas*, Ratnagiri can compete with Bodh-Gaya. Of the numerous images recovered from the site through excavations, mention may be made of standing and seated images of Buddha, Lokeśvara, Padmapāṇi, Vajrapāṇi, Mañjuśrī, Heruka, Jambhala, Tārā, Hariti, Vasudhārā etc.

Lalitagiri or Naltigiri, another Buddhist site is situated a few kilometres away from Ratnagiri. This hillock consists of three peaks; namely Olasuni, Landa and Parabhadi. Olasuni is famous as the seat of Arakṣita Dāsa, a great prophet of Orissa, who lived there during the later half of the 18th century A.D. This site has yielded several images of gods and goddesses of Buddhist pantheon including Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara, Buddha, Tārā, Aparājita, Maitreya and Mañjuśrī.

Udayagiri is located at a distance of 8 kms. from Lalitagiri, on the other side of the river Birupā and forms a golden triangle of Buddhist monuments with Ratnagiri and Lalitagiri. This site has yielded images of Dhyāni Buddha, Amitābha, Avalokiteśvara, Vajrāsana Buddha, Maitreya, Hāriti, Vasudhārā, Jambhala etc.

Puṣpagiri was an important seat of Buddhist learning. It finds mention in the account of Hieun Tsang (Pue-se-po-ki-li) as a noted monastery in the Oḍra country. A reference to it is also available in the Nagarjunakonda inscription (Pushagiri) of the king Vīrapuruṣadatta (2nd half of the 3rd century A.D.). Scholars are divided among themselves as to the location of the Puṣpagiri *Mahāvihāra*. Some scholars believe that Puṣpagiri *Mahāvihāra* lies buried in the Buddhist complex of Ratnagiri, Udayagiri and Lalitagiri. The suggestion of some scholars about its identification with Khandagiri and Udayagiri near Bhubaneswar or the present Phulbani-Ghumsur region etc. is

yet to be substantiated by archaeological evidences. Thus its location has remained a problem as yet. That neither Ratnagiri nor Udayagiri was known as Puṣpagiri *Mahāvihāra* has been proved by archaeological excavations. The terracotta seals found at Ratnagiri and Udayagiri prove that the names of these two important Buddhist places were Ratnagiri *Mahāvihāra* and Mādhavapura *Mahāvihāra* respectively. The recent excavations at Lalitagiri have not yielded any real so far suggesting the name of this institution. The excavation work is in progress and it is believed that one day the complex was known as Puṣpagiri *Mahāvihāra* in the Buddhist world. The fact which leads us to arrive at such a decision is the exposition of a ruined *Stupa*, from the core of which three relic caskets have been discovered. The relic is kept inside a gold casket, the gold casket inside a silver one, which is preserved inside a soapstone casket and the soap-stone casket is inside a khondalite-stone casket like a Chinese puzzle box. Thus one set of casket forms four containers. The caskets are intact while the inner containers of the remaining one is lost or stolen. In the past, similar three sets of relic caskets were unearthed at Sanchi. Lalitagiri, thus seems to be more important than its counterparts at Ratnagiri and Udayagiri.

Vajragiri is another promising Buddhist site which is located at 8 miles of the Cuttack-Balasore section of the National Highway No. 5, near the mile stone no. 30. A number of Buddhist images of Padmapāṇi, Vajrapāṇi and Manjusri have been recovered from this village indicating the existence of a Buddhist establishment there in the past. Some images have been shifted from this site to the Orissa State Museum for preservation and display and some other are being worshipped as Hindu deities by the local people.

Khaira is a village near Barachana in the district of Cuttack. A number of Buddhist icons are still noticed in this village which include Buddha, Padmapāṇi, Vajrapāṇi, Manjusri and Tara. The image of the Buddha is in *Bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā* and has been shifted to the Orissa State Museum for preservation and display.

Tarapur, a village in the district of Cuttack located on the Cuttack-Paradeep road has yielded a series of Buddhist sculptures including Buddha, Avalokiteśvara, Prajñā-pāramitā, Mārīcī and Tārā which are datable in the 9th-10th century A.D. At the time of renovation of the Taladanda canal, these images were recovered by the local people from a place situated between the

canal and the river Mahānadī. Ruins of brick structures are also visible at present on the embankment of the Taladanda canal. The discovery of the sculptures and brick ruins indicates Buddhist establishment of comparable date.

An excavation conducted recently at Brahmavana, a village near Salipur in the Chitrotpalā valley of the Cuttack district has brought to light the existence of a Buddhist complex excavated at Kuruma in the Puri district. No sculptures have been found at the time of excavation. The excavation work was taken up on the basis of surface finds consisting of images of Buddha in *Bhumi-sparśa-mudrā*, Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī and Tara.

Baneswarnasi is a picturesque hillock in the bed of the river Mahānadī in Narasinghpur area of the Cuttack district. Brick-bats in large scale, remains of *stupas* and fragments of sculptures can be noticed on all sides of the hillock. It was originally a leading Buddhist establishment of the medieval Orissa. The most prominent images of Buddhist pantheon seen here are Prajñā-pāramitā, Tārā and Avalokiteśvara. It is learnt that some images have been removed from the site to the neighbouring villages and are being worshipped as Hindu deities.

Chaudwar was the capital of Orissa for a long time in the medieval period and acted as an important centre of Buddhism and Śaivism. So many Buddhist images in perfect condition were found by the late R.P. Chanda in 1928 which include Prajñāpāramitā, two-armed Tārā, Vajrapāṇi, Buddha, Avalokiteśvara and bronze mask of the Buddha. The bronze mask of the Buddha and the image of Avalokiteśvara are now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta and others are found missing.

Kuruma was also a Buddhist site of eminence. It lies 8 kms. to the north-east of Konarak in the district of Puri. One of the extensive mounds around the place presents a large brick monastery of the 9th century. On its denuded top a temple has been erected in the recent years housing in it three Buddhist images of the Buddha in the *Bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā*, Avalokiteśvara and Kṛṣṇa-Yamāri. The place is locally known as Yama-dharma *pītha*. After an excavation taken up recently the site has yielded brick walls, a paved enclosure, four rooms, three sacrificial pits containing ashes, brick-bats in large quantity, terracotta seals etc.

Aragarh is located in the Haripur Gram-panchayat of the Puri district. It is hardly at a distance of 3 miles from the Khurda Road Railway Station. This area was a stronghold of Vajrayāna faith in the past and this is proved by the discovery of one image of Vajrāsana Buddha and three images of esoteric Buddhist deities in 1954 from the paddy field between the village Haripur and Aragarh. The deities are excellently carved in red sand stone. The villagers of Haripur have removed the images to their *Bhāgavata-ghara* and kept them under active worship.

Achutrajpur, close to Banpur in the district of Puri was a promising Buddhist site which has, of late yielded the richest hoard of images. With a view to constructing a college building and its compound wall, the entire area between the Godabarish Vidyapitha and the rivulet Sāliā was levelled down in March, 1963 and when the work was in progress, large number of Buddhist antiquities were unearthed. Of these antiquities, three earthern pots were found together, which had, inside them, hoard of bronze icons, seventeen bronze *stupas*, a metal spouted pot, an iron dagger and a conch. Seven more bronze icons, two *stupas*, relatively larger in size were also discovered by the side of these pots. The total number of bronze icons comes to ninety five of which at least seventy five are of Buddhist pantheon. All these antiquities were acquired subsequently for the Orissa State Museum, where most of them are exhibited in the Bronze Gallery.

Dhauli hill which is located on the bank of the river Daya at a distance of 8kms. from Bhubaneswar, evokes the memories of the great Kaliṅga war. The major rock edicts of Aśoka from I to X and XIV are found here. The edicts are arranged in three distinct colums, the middle column containing the Edict I to VI and the right column consisting of the Edicts VII to X and XIV. The second separate Edict bordered by straight lines is engraved just below the right column. A duplicate version of these Edicts is also found engraved on the surface of a low rock at Jaugarh in the district of Ganjam.

The village Ayodhya is located at a distance of 6 miles from Nilagiri town in the district of Balasore. This is one of the richest sites of Buddhist antiquities in Orissa. "Like Bhubaneswar, Ayodhya was also once a city of temples and ruins of more than one hundred shrines can now be counted in this place, while larger number of images are scattered all over the area and considerable number of them are lying under the debris". (N.K. Sahu,

Buddhism in Orissa, p. 209). A three-faced and eight-armed Marici is being worshipped by the local people as Jayadurgā. The back slab on the top is inscribed with the popular Buddhist creed "ye dharma hetu prabhava...." etc. The goddess Mārīcī is flanked by Mañjuśrī in the right and Padmapani in the left.

Khadipada in Dhamnagar Police Station area of Bhadrak sub-division in the Balasore district was a famous site of Buddhism. The colossal images of the Buddha have been acquired from the area and lodged in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar.

Solampur is located at the north-west of Jajpur on the other side of the river Vaitaraṇī in the district of Balasore. It was an important site of Buddhist culture in the past. Large number of Mahāyānic and Tantric Buddhist deities have been discovered at this place and now set in the outer walls of Raghunath temple of the village. These sculptures suggest that there was a vast monastic establishment at this site. Among them most notable is the sculpture of Buddha representing the eight great events associated with his life. Images of a two-armed Tārā and a two-armed Avalokiteśvara are seen along with the aforesaid image. An image of Vajrasattva at this place has found its way to the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Khiching is situated at a distance of sixteen miles from Karanjia in the Mayurbhanj district. It was the ancient Khijjiṅga-koṭṭa, the capital of early Bhañjas. Excavations of the site have brought to light the remains of various pantheons including Buddhism. The site has yielded Buddhist images like Vajrasattva, a life-size Buddha (preserved in the Khiching museum), an eight-armed Mārīcī and a Mañjuśrī (now in the Baripada Museum, Mayurbhanj district), Jambhala, Tara etc.

Baudh in the Phulbani district is believed to have derived its name from Buddha, the presiding god of this locality. A colossal image of Buddha is found in a masonry structure built by the State Archaeology department in front of the Baudh palace. This image was originally enshrined in a *Vihāra* (Buddhist establishment) built of bricks near the confluence of the river Sāluki and Mahānadī during the rule of the Bhañjas. Large number of Buddhist images are found in the premises of the Rāmeśvara temple; but many of them are either broken or covered with layers of vermilion. Some of

these are, in course of time, regarded as Hindu deities although they bear the popular Buddhist creed, "*Ye dharmā hetu....*" etc.

We come across two life-size Buddha images sitting in *Padmāsana* posture in the village Ganiapali in Padmapur Sub-division of the Sambalpur district. These are worshipped in a thatched house since long. But the images are of *Mucalinda* variety which is very rare. In India, it is seen nowhere except in Amaravati in Andhra Pradesh. But the image of Mucalinda Buddha at Amaravati is found in relief whereas the image at Ganiapali is in round. The figures of this type are so named for the reason that the serpent which covers the head of Buddha by its hood is known as Mucalinda. Of late, the excavation at Lalitagiri has exposed more than half a dozen of such images, small in size indicating the varied iconographical know-how of Orissan sculptures.

The entire Praci valley is littered with numerous Buddhist relics. Images of various Buddhist deities are found in the villages like Betenda, Madhava, Naiguan, Mudugala, Lataharana, Sanahuli, Kantikula, Fategarh, Phulanakhara, Tiruna, Sohagapur, Ketakivana area near Nayahat, Phiriphira, near Adasapur, Basantapur near Charichhaka, Astaranga etc. suggesting prevalence of Buddhism in the entire Praci valley. Many images of this area have been discovered at the time of digging mounds. With the accidental strokes of spades some of them are mutilated and some bear the mark of spade-strokes.

This is the account of some important sites of Buddhism in Orissa in outline throwing some light on the contributions of Orissa to the development and splendour of Buddhism in a magnificent way which maintains the singularity of Orissa in comparision to the other parts of India. Realising this, Venerable Fujii Guruji of the Nipponzan Mydhoji Mission of Japan has, in modern times, honoured Orissa by erecting the second world Peace Pagoda in India on the top of the historic Dhauligiri.

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THE LATER EASTERN GANGAS, THE SŪRYAVAṀŚA GAJAPATIS AND TELUGU LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

C.V. RAMACHANDRA RAO

I

The Later Eastern Gaṅgas; Telugu Language and Literature:-

There is no evidence of any patronage of vernaculars, either Telugu or Oriya by the Eastern Gaṅgas. As was the convention in those days, as sovereign rulers, they confined their patronage to Sanskrit. But it is to be noted that all the inscriptions of the Gaṅgas, with a rare exception here and there, even after they transferred their capital to Cuttack during the time of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga (A.D. 1078-1152), are in Telugu language and Veṅgi script. We have an important inscription of the Gaṅgas, important to know the development of Telugu literature. This inscription, dated A.D. 1065, is of Banapati, the Brahmin general of the Eastern Gaṅga king Devendravarman Rājarājadeva (A.D. 1070-1078), and is found at Dīrghāsi in the Visakhapatnam district of Andhra Pradesh[1]. It speaks of the conquest of Banapati and of the construction of a *Nāṭya-maṇḍapa* and of the donation of lamp to goddess Durgā at Dīrghāsi—all in several lines of *Sīsa* metre. The Gaṅga inscriptions also help us to know the structure of Telugu language, in the pre-Nannaya period. Except for these inscriptions which help is to know the structure of Telugu language, there is no evidence of the patronage of Telugu literature by the Eastern Gaṅga kings. But we have two eminent Telugu poets who belonged to the age of the later Eastern Gaṅgas and were patronised by the Cālukya rulers of Elamanchili (Visakhapatnam district,

A.P.), who were the vassals of the Later Eastern Gaṅga rulers. These two poets were Donayāmātya and Vinnakoṭa Peddana.

Donayāmātya was the author of two works, viz., *Sasyānandamu* and *Sarvalokāśrayamu*. *Sasyānandamu* has been published. But the other work *Sarvalokāśrayamu* has not yet been traced. In a verse in *Sasyānandamu* Donaya claims that he wrote *Sarvalokāśrayamu* under the patronage of Upendra of Elamanchili, the Cālukyan king[2]. In this connection we should remember that *Sarvalokāśraya* was one of the titles of the Cālukyas. It is probable that *Sarvalokāśraya* was a work on rhetoric. We know from Vinnakoṭa Peddana's *Kāvyālaṅkāracuḍāmaṇi* that one Viśveśvara was the ruler of Elamanchili during the first decade of the 15th century. Preceeding Viśveśvara there were four Upendras in this dynasty. It is probable that Upendra III was the patron of Donaya as he stated that *Sasyānandamu* was composed in S. 1278 (A.D. 1356), (according to one manuscript) or in S. 1282 (A.D. 1360) (according to another manuscript)[3]. *Sasyānandamu* is a very interesting work on hyetology.

Vinnakoṭa Peddana, the author of *Kāvyālaṅkāracuḍāmaṇi,* the first Telugu work on rhetoric, was patronised by Cālukya Viśveśvara of Elamanchili in the Kaliṅga country. The date of Viśveśvara and his protege Peddana is known for certain to us by the Pancadharla (Visakhapatnam district) pillar inscription of the former, dated in S. 1329 (A.D. 1407)[4]. This record contains a cryptic verse which alludes to the date of a victorious battle fought by Viśveśvara against his enemies. This verse, in double entendre, while outwardly glorifying Viśveśvara's valour, informs us that the king defeated the Andhra army near Sarvasiddhi in Śaka year 1324, corresponding to the cyclic year Citrabhanu. We have an exact Telugu rendering of this Sanskrit stanza with the same pun in words in the *Kāvyālaṅkāracuḍāmaṇi.* As the stanza is found both in the inscription and the *Kāvyālaṅkāracuḍāmaṇi,* it is probable that Peddana was the author of the inscription as well. Therefore Peddana's work may be said to have been composed after this event, i.e., subsequent to S. 1324 (A.D. 1402). Peddana, in his prefatory verses of his work, does not give the entire genealogy of his patron but only mentions some of his prominent ancestors, viz., Viṣṇuvardhana, Cālukya-Bhīma, Rājā Narendra Upendra (Viśveśvara's father's grandfather), Upendra (Viśveśvara's father), Viśveśvara.

II

The Sūryavaṁśa Gajapatis and Telugu Literature:-

In his *magnum opus, Samagra Āndhra Sāhityam,* Ārudra, the latest historian of Telugu literature in thirteen volumes[5], named the different volumes after the prominent dynasties of Andhra history, which patronised Telugu literature. In doing so, on second thoughts, he named volume five of his *magnum opus,* as the *Age of the Gajapatis.* The late Prof. Nidadavolu Venkata Rao (then Professor of Telugu, Madras University), in the scheme of work at the beginning of his *Lives of Telugu Poets,* refers to section 2, part 6 of volume II, as the *Age of the Gajapatis*[6]. Dr. Gidugu Sitapati, an authoritative Telugu literateur and critic, in his preface to volume 5 of Ārudra's *work, Samagra Āndhra Sāhityam,* questions the propriety of naming that volume after the Gajapatis as in his opinion, 'the Gajapatis had completely neglected Telugu literature and their treatment of Śrīnātha, the *Kavisārvabhauma* of Telugu poetry is abhorrent'[7]. By his statement Dr. Sitapati seems to imply a studied neglect of Telugu literature on the part of the Gajapatis. But in this respect, Ārudra and Sri Venkata Rao have rightly stressed the importance of the Gajapati age in Telugu literature. It is a fact that the three Gajapati emperors, viz., Kapileśvara (A.D. 1434-1468), Puruṣottama (A.D. 1468-1497) and Pratāparudra (A.D. 1497-1538), who besides being great scholars of Sanskrit were also great patrons of Sanskrit literature, did not directly help in any way, the promotion of Telugu literature; but we have to remember that this omission on the part of the Gajapati monarchs had been greatly compensated by their viceroys, governors and other officers, whose patronage of Telugu literature was not a whit less than under any other dynasty that ruled over medieval Andhra. It is also to be remembered that the neglect of Telugu literature by the Gajapatis was never intentional. Since the time of transfer of the capital of the Kaliṅga empire to Cuttack during the reign of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga (A.D. 1078-1152), the rulers of the Kaliṅga empire slowly became estranged and remote to Telugu language and literature. In spite of this estrangement, the later Eastern Gaṅgas continued to issue nearly all their lithic records in Telugu language; but the Gajapatis, whose upbringing was completely Orissan, had no opportunity at all to know and appreciate the Telugu language and literature, and what they could not appreciate they could not patronise and

encourage. For that matter there is no evidence that the Gajapatis had actively patronised Oriya literature. Besides, it was the fashion of the day, for the monarchs to support Sanskrit, the official language, and leave the patronage of vernaculars to their *māṇḍalikas.* Until the age of Śrīnātha (c. 1350-1450), in the Telugu land itself, the Telugu poet, as compared to the Sanskrit scholars, suffered from an inferiority complex. These facts become evident, when we note that the Reḍḍi kings wrote all their works in Sanskrit and that except for *Kāśikhaṇḍamu* which was dedicated to Vīrabhadra Reḍḍi, the last Reḍḍi ruler of Rajahmundry, all the works of Śrīnātha (in Telugu) were patronised by subordinate royal officers or other important personalities of the realm. We must also not that until the age of Śrīnātha, nearly all the poetical works in Telugu including the major works of Śrīnātha were renderings of sanskrit works. It was to the credit of Śrīnātha that he made the Telugu poet shed his inferiority complex; and this he achieved by defeating the greatest sanskrit scholar of the age Gauḍa Diṇḍima Bhaṭṭa in the court of Devarāya II (A.D. 1422-1446). Speaking of the status of the Telugu poet and Śrīnātha's services to Telugu literature during this period, the great historian Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma observes, "Before this period, it (Telugu) found favour only with the *māṇḍalikas* or feudatory chiefs, while Sanskrit enjoyed royal favour and patronage from the sovereign lords of the land. Kings lavished their patronage on Sanskrit scholars and poets. It was traditional for kings of sovereign status to patronise Sanskrit and Prakrit. Kings of the Telugu country also shared to that custom..................Suzerain lord and Sanskrit scholars looked down upon the Telugu poets and Telugu literature and were loathe to recognise the merit of Telugu poetry. This attitude of the Sanskritists and independent monarchs towards Telugu literature continued till the time of the revival of the Hindu monarchy in the post-Kākatīya period."[8]

In these circumstances, there is no point in charging the Gajapatis with a studied neglect of Telugu literature. As with the other sovereign dynasties of the period, like the Kākatīyas, the Reḍḍis and the Velamas, they felt it in keeping with their dignity to patronise Sanskrit and left the encouragement of vernaculars to their *māṇḍalikas.* And when the Telugu literature produced under the patronage of the *māṇḍalikas* of the Gajapatis was not a white less in quality or quantity, as the following pages will show, than that produced

under the Kākatīyas and the Reḍḍis, *the Gajapatis were as much entitled as the Kākatīyas or the Reḍḍis, for a period of Telugu literature to be named after them.*

A canard, which lends support to the charge of the studied neglect of Telugu literature by the Gajapatis, and popular in the Telugu land both among the scholars and the laity is that the Gajapatis or their officers, who could not appreciate scholarship and learning, subjected Śrīnātha to humiliating punishments during the eve of his life, when he failed to pay the land revenue on Boḍḍupalli, a village on river Kṛṣṇa which he had taken for lease. The sole evidence for this charge against the Gajapatis or their *māṇḍalikas* is a *cāṭu* (impromptu) verse, attributed to Śrīnātha. But in the verse. Śrīnātha has nowhere mentioned the name of his punishers though he says that he had to undergo the list of punishments enumerated therein because of his failure to pay the *kist* on Boḍḍupalli(e). All the Telugu scholars and historians from Chilukuri Veerabhadra Rao (the author of *Āndhrula Caritra,* 1912, who probably was the first to start this canard) to Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma (the author of *History of the Reḍḍi Kingdom,* 1947), who subscribe to this charge of inhumanity against one of the greatest scholars of the age by the Gajapatis or their *māṇḍalikas,* have admitted their inability to locate this Boḍḍupalli. Moreover, scholars differ over a wide range of 35 years with respect to the date of Śrīnātha's death. (The Gajapati king who could have been contemporaneous to Śrīnātha was Kapileśvara, who ruled from 1434 to 1468). With such lack of evidence, the charge made against the Gajapatis cannot be sustained. Moreover, it is difficult to believe that the Gajapati monarchs, great scholars and patrons of Sanskrit learning, should have allowed such ill-treatment to be meted out to Śrīnātha, one of the greatest Sanskrit scholars of the age. It is likely that the rulers who subjected Śrīnātha to such humiliation were the Muslims, the Bahmanis or some of their subordinate officers, who had no respect for the scholarship and culture which Śrīnātha represented, an opinion already subscribed by only two scholars, viz., Manavalli Rāmakrishna Kavi and Chaganti Seshiash[9]. Any how, till further evidence is forthcoming and till Boḍḍupalli is definitely located and the exact date of Śrīnātha's death is known, it is not right on any one's part to charge the Gajapatis of a guilt for which there is no evidence. We may at best leave the question *sub judice.*

It was as a result of the rule of the Gajapatis, in whose time Caitanya preached in Andhra, that the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult became popular in Andhra, and became the theme for the works of several poets. Potana, in his *Mahā Bhāgavata* (Telugu) does not speak of Rādhā at all, but his contemporary Śrīnātha, in a verse in his *Bhīma Khaṇḍamu* speaks of the divine love between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Some scholars suspect that Śrīnātha's *Nānādānanadana Caritra* (which has not been traced but which Śrīnātha proclaims to have written) deals with the love of the divine couple[10]. Later, Cintalapudi Ellanarya wrote his *Rādhāmādhava Kāvya*, and was honoured by Kṛṣṇadevarāya with the title 'Rādhāmādhava Kavi'. The cue was taken up by other poets with the result that we have a number of poetical works in Telugu dealing with the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa—Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Rādhā Kṛṣṇa Vilāsa*, Neḍavalli Veṅkaṭapati's *Rādhāmādhava Saṁgama*, Velidaṇḍla Veṅkaṭapati's *Rādhāmādhava Samvāda*, and Muddu Palani's *Rādhikā Svāntanā*. A number of *agrahāras* in the Telugu districts which bear the names Kapileśvarapura, Pārvatīpura, Puruṣottamapura, Vidyādharapura etc. speak of the great patronage extended by the Gajapatis to scholarship in the Telugu land.

III

Here, we shall now present a very succinct account, and in outline, of the Telugu poets and scholars who were associated with the Gajapati age (of Telugu literature) and who were patronised by the Gajapatis or by their subordinates or officers of different ranks :

DŪBAGUNTA NĀRĀYAṆA KAVI :

The first translation of *Pañcatantra* into Telugu available to us, now, in its entirety is that of Dūbagunta Nārāyaṇa Kavi, who lived in the latter half of the 15th century, and was patronised by Bāsavabhūpāla, the viceroy of Puruṣottama Gajapati at Udayagiri in Nellore District[11].

DAGGUPALLI DUGGANA :

He was a contemporary of Nārāyaṇa Kavi, lived in the latter half of the 15th century. He was the author of two works, *Kāñcipuramāhātmyamu* and *Nāsiketopākhyānamu.* He dedicated his second work to Cendalūri Gaṅgaya Mantri, son of Anantāmātya. Cendalūri Gaṅgaya was a minister of Kaṅṭamarāja Bāsavabhūpāla, the viceroy of Puruṣottama Gajapati at Udayagiri. This Gaṅgayamātya was also the patron of the joint-poets, Nandi

Mallaya and Ghaṇṭa Siṅgaya, who dedicated to him their *Prabodhacandrodayamu.* Duggana dedicated his earlier work *Kāñcimāhātmyamu* to Cendalūri Devayamātya, the paternal uncle's son of Gaṅgayamātya.

Duggana, in his *Nāsiketopākhyānamu,* just in one verse, which describes Bāsavabhūpāla, the lord of his patron, says that Bāsavabhūpāla was of the dynasty of Mādhavavarman. Nandi Mallya and Ghaṇṭa Siṅgaya in their *Prabodhacandrodaya* dedicated to Gaṅgayamātya, in one of the prefatory verses, describe Bāsavabhūpāla as "the moon to the ocean of the dynasty of Mādhavavarman", "the king who conquered Udayaśaila by putting down the arrogance of the enemies", and as "the wide diamond door to the border forts of the Gajapati king". That Bāsavabhūpāla ruled over Udayagiri is known from an inscription of his later kinsman Siṅgarāja, dated S. 1470, from Bejawada[12].

NANDI MALLAYA AND GHAṄṬA SIṆGAYA :

Mallaya and Siṅgaya are the first joint-poets of Telugu literature. They were the authors of two Telugu poetical works, *Prabodhacandrodayamu* and *Varāhapurāṇamu.* As mentioned above, they dedicated their *Prabodhacandrodayamu* to Candalūri Gaṅgayāmātya, minister of Bāsavabhūpāla, the Gajapati viceroy at Udayagiri.

THE PŪṢAPAṬI KINGS AND THE POETS PATROṆISED BY THEM :

The ancestors of the ex-zamandars of Vijayanagaram (Vizianagaram District, A.P) had very close relation with the Sūryavaṁśa Gajapatis of Orissa and in the subsequent course of history when they became independent their assumption of the title of Gajapati is fully justified because of their very close affinity with the Gajapatis of Orissa. These kings, like the family of Bāsavabhūpāla of Udayagiri, mentioned above, claim their descent from Mādhavavarman of Bejawada and of legendary fame. Great patrons of art and literature, by themselves they were poets of no mean merit. The following literary works by the kings of this dynasty and the works of the poets patronised by them, help us to know their genealogy, and some of their exploits.

Rāci Rāju I : *Vaśiṣṭagotrajula Sīsamālika*
Timmarāja IV : *Kṛṣṇa Vijayamu*
Vijayarāmarāju : *Viṣṇubhakti Sudhākaramu*

Veṅkaṭapati Mahipāla : *Uṣābhyudayamu*
Kotikalapudi Somaśekharakavi : *Narasabhūparājiyamu*

The following genealogy is on the basis of information furnished by the foregoing works :

Mādhavavarman
Amala Rāju - m. Akkama
Ayyapurāju
Tammirāja I-m. Annama
Rāci Rājā I (c. 1390-1440)-m. Sūramma
Tammi Rājā II (c. 1440-1470)-m. Annamma
Rāci Rāja II (c. 1470-1500)
Tammi Rāja III
Gopāla Rāja
Tammi Rāja IV

Rāci Rāja II was the author of a poetical work called *Navabhāratamu*. He was captured alive, along with Vīrabhadra, son of Pratāparudra Gajapati, during Kṛṣṇadevarāya's conquest of Koṇḍāvīḍu. In recognition of his services, he received Ketavaram from Kaṭakeśvara, i.e., Puruṣottama Gajapati. He married Akkāmambā, sister of Pratāparudra Gajapati, and gave his son Tammirāja III in marriage to one of Pratāparudra's daughters, (another of Pratāparudra's daughters was given in marriage to Kṛṣṇadevarāya).

Besides *Navabhāratamu*, Rāci Rāja II wrote a work called *Vaśiṣṭagotrājula Sīsamālikā*. This is a poem of 56 lines in *Sīsa* metre tracing the genealogy of the Puṣāpātis and a few other minor dynasties of Vaśiṣṭha *gotra* and of solar race. It is useful for the student of history. Rāci Rāja, in the text of the *Sīsamālikā* mentions its composition as in S. 1406 (A.D. 1484).

The authors of *Uṣābhyudayamu* and *Viṣṇubhaktisudhākaramu* were Veṅkaṭapati Mahipāla and Vijayarāmarāju, respectively, collateral princes of the Pūṣapāṭi family, who ruled in the 17th century.

From Penumalla Somanatha's Telugu poetical work *Sīmantinī Pariṇayamu*, we learn that the author of *Jaimini Bhāratamu*, Pillala marri Pinavīrabhadra had two sons, (1) Virana, (2) Malleśvara and that Malleśvara served as an officer under the Gajapatis. Pleased with Malleśvara's efficiency, the Gajapatis conferred on him the village of Penumalla and

henceforth the family name was changed from Pillamarri to Penumalla. Penumalla Somanātha was patronised by Tammirāja IV of the Puṣāpāti family.

ADIDAM NĪLĀDRI KAVI : The author of *Raṇaraṅgavijaya* was patronised by Tammirāja II of Puṣāpāti family. Tammirāja II was a general of Kapilendra Gajapati and was credited with many exploits on behalf of Kapileśvara Gajapati in the poetical works written by the Pūṣāpāti rulers mentioned above[13]. The Raṇaraṅgavijaya is not yet traced ; the *Cāṭupadyamaṇimañjarī* contains a few verses, eulogising the exploits of Tammi(a) Rājā II[14]. There is a legend relating to the family of Nīlādri Kavi. To start with their family name was Modukūru. Later on it changed to Granthavāraṇaṁ as the poets of this family became itinerant with their writings placed on the back of an elephant (*vāraṇa*). During the time of Nīlādri, once Nīlādri accompanied Tammirāja on his campaigns, and took part in some of the battles; moreover he wrote *Raṇaraṅgavijaya* eulogising the exploits of his patron. Tammirāja, greatly pleased with the ability of Nīlādri to wield both the pen and the sword with equal dexterity, rewarded him with a bejewelled sword. Since then the familv name changed from Granthavāraṇaṁ to Adidam.

Carigoṇḍa Dharmana : One of the toughest and formidable rulers that Kṛṣṇadevarāya had to face during his conquest of Teliṅgāna and Veṅgi (which was a prelude to his conquest of Orissa) was one Chitap Khan or Shitab Khan. From the *Rāyavācakamu*[15] and from the *Kṛṣṇarāya-vijayamu*[16] of Kumāra Dhūrjaṭi, we learn that this Shitab Khan gave a tough time to Kṛṣṇadevarāya, in the defiles of the hills between Warangal and Rajahmundry, with a force of 60,000 mounted archers and finally lost to him. The name Chitap Khan misleads any one to think that he was a Muslim general, but it was an assumed name or alias of one Sītāpatirāju, a vassal of Pratāparudra Gajapati in Teliṅgāṇa and Veṅgi. We learn of the adventurous and interesting career of Sītāpati from only one inscription of his at Warangal (his capital) and from stray literary evidences, local records and Muslim historians.

Carigoṇḍa Dharmana, the author of a very fine poetical work in Telugu, *Citra Bhāratamu* was patronised by Enumulapalli Peddayāmātya the chief minister of Sītāpati or Chitap Khan. In three poems in the introductory of

Citra Bhāratamu, Dharmana describes his patron as an adept equestrian, a great warrior and as one who efficiently took care of Chitap Khan's realm. From *Citra Bhāratamu* we also learn that Siṅgarāja, a brother of Peddanāmātya, was a general in the service of Chitap Khan and was rewarded by the latter with fly-whisk, palanquin, white umbrella, betel plate etc. which were tokens of royal pleasure and honour.

KŪCIRĀJU ERRANNA : Erranna or Errana is known from three of his works—*Ratirahasya* (generally called *Kokkoka*), *Sakalanītisammata* and *Purāṇasāra.* Of these three, the first two works have been printed and published ; the third is not yet traced. Errana's *Ratirahasya* or *Kokkoka* treatises on sex, is more popular in the Andhra country than Vātsāyana's *Kāmasutra.* Errana had dedicated his Telugu rendering of Vaiṇyadatta's *Ratirahasya* to Kuṅṭumukkula Mallamantri who was one of the Mahāpātras of (Puruṣottama) Gajapati and was made the chief of Vinukoṇḍā fort. Errana dedicated his *Purāṇasāra* to Kuṅṭumukkula Pinabhairava who was a brother's son of Mallamantri. This Pinabhairava bore the titles of Pātra and Mahāpātra and appears to have been in the service of the Gajapatis as a trainer of elephants (*Gandhakarīndra-śikṣā*) and later the chief of Kondapalli fort. Pinabhairava to whom Errana dedicated his *Purāṇasāra,* encouraged Errana to write *Sakalanītisammata,* a work on polity and dedicate it to Lord Veṅkaṭeśvara, god of the Seven Hills. In many verses of *Sakala-nītisammata,* Pinabhairava is repeatedly referred to as a *mahāpātra.*

MĀDHAVA KAVI : Mādhava Kavi was the author of *Mairāvaṇa Caritra* in three *aśvasas* or cantos. In his work Mādhava says that he was rewarded with two well-bred horses by the ruler of Kimiḍi (i.e., Parlakimidi) and with golden jewels by the king Mandapuri (erstwhile Jeypore State). Mādhava claims that he also pleased Vīranarasiṁha the king of Karnāṭa. It is probable that Vīranarasiṁha was the brother of Kṛṣṇadevarāya and ruled over Karnāṭa from 1506 to 1509. According to the Jeypore chronicle, one Vinayakadeva ruled the kingdom of Nandapuri from A.D. 1470 to 1510. According to the Parlakimidi chronicle, the Kimiḍi king during this period was one Mādhava Bhānudeva.

Miscellaneous Information

By going through the works of poets, who were patronised by kings contemporaneous with the Sūryavaṁśa Gajapatis of Orissa, we glean a lot of

information with respect to the literary patronage of the Gajapatis. Bhānu Kavi who dedicated his Telugu rendering of *Pañcatantra* Bandaru Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, the court muscian of Kṛṣṇadevarāya, informs that Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa's father, Viṭhalāmātya was a great scholar in the court of the Gajapatis and that he was honoured by the Gajapatis with golden bells.After the discomfiture of Pratāparudra Gajapati, Vithalamātya or his son Baṇḍaru Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, along with Lolla Lakṣmīdhara and Divākara might have migrated to Vijayanagar court. Pratāparudra whose court was adorned by scholars of the calibre of Viṭhalāmātya Lakṣmīdhara and Divākara, was no less a patron of arts and letters than Kṛṣṇadevarāya. Viṭhalāmātya was an Andhra Niyogi Brahmin of Bharadvāja *gotra*.

Vennelakaṅṭi Sūrana, in his Viṣṇu Purāṇa, dedicated to Rāvuri Besavaya Rāghava Reḍḍi, informs that his patron or patron's father was honoured by the Gajapati king with an unique palanquin. Oḍḍepuḍi Peddana, the author of *Māgha Māhātmyamu* states that his patron Dāsari Cina Gaṅgana was honoured by Hariścandra Bāhubalendra Gajapati with flowers, unguent and umbrella. This Hariścandra was a commander of the infantry (*vāhinīpati)* under the Gajapati monarchs. From the *Tapatīsamvaraṇopākhyānamu* of Addanki Gaṅgādhara Kavi we learn that this Hariścandra was captured alive by Haider Khan, son of Kuli Kutab Shah, in a battle near Koṇḍapalli. Ajjārapu Peraya Liṅga Kavi (17th century A.D.), the author of *Oḍayanaṁbi Vilāsamu* informs that one of his ancestors Koṇḍu Bhaṭlu pleased one of the Gajapati rulers (Kapilendradeva) with his mastery over the Vedas and received the villages of Ajjāram on the Godāvarī as an *agrahāra.* Mariganti Siṅgaracarya, the author of *Daśaradharājanandana Caritra* and *Suddhāndhra Nirostya Sītākalyanamu* claims that he had been equally honoured by the Narapatis, the Gajapatis and the Hayapatis. His brother Appalacārya was also greatly honoured by the three rulers. Caḍaluvāḍa Mallana (c. 1580 A.D.), the author of *Vipranārāyaṇa Caritra* and *Rukmāṅgada Caritra,* informs us that his grandfather, Errana and great grandfather Māllana were honoured by the Gajapati king with elephants and jewels. Paiḍipāṭi Jalapāla Mantrī pleased the Gajapati ruler with his scholarship and was honoured with an elephant and the village of Someśvaraṁ as an *agrahāra.*

The rule of the Eastern Gaṅgas and the Gajapatis had made the cult of Jagannātha popular in the Andhra districts and we find a number of Telugu

poets either dedicating their works to Lord Jagannātha or composing poetical works with the glory (*māhātmya*) of the Lord as the theme. As for instance, we may mention Haribhaṭ, the author of *Varāha*, *Matsya* and *Narasiṁha Purāṇas* in Telugu, who dedicated his Telugu rendering of the sixth canto of Bhagavata to Lord Jagannātha. Kalidindi Bhāvanārāyaṇa (c. A.D. 1540), author of *Puruṣottama Khaṇḍa*, claims that he obtained his poetical talents due to the grace of the goddess Subhadrā of Puri-Jagannātha and also praises the greatness of one Rāmakṛṣṇa Gosāi of Jagannāth. He also finds the Oriya language influencing and fascinating the Telugu writers and we find several Telugu versions of Siddheśvaradāsa's Oriya *Rāmāyaṇa*.

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10. M.S. Sarma, *Āndhra Bhāgavata Upanyāsamulu*, p. 7.
11. For more details regarding Bāsavabhūpāla, see under the head *Daggupalli Duggana*.
12. *SII*, Vl. IV, No. 789, p. 264.
13. There is an inscription of Tammi (a) rāja II from Bejawada, dated, S. 1380 (A.D. 1458), - *SII*, Vol. IV. An inscription of Kapileśvara dated S. 1387 (A.D. 1465) is also found at Bejawada (*SII*, Vol. IV. No. 761). Therefore it is certain that Tammarāja was a commander in the service of Kapileśvara Gajapati.
14. Tamma (i) rāja appears to be a hero of many wars. A verse in the *Cātupadyamaṇimañjarī* says that the kings of Varnati, Paricchedi, Kākati and Kota families looked for protection towards Tammarāja. See, V. Prabhakara Sastri, *Cātupadyamaṇimañjarī*, (1924), p. 79.

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ŚILPAŚĀSTRA MANUSCRIPTS IN THE COLLECTION OF ORISSA STATE MUSEUM—A STUDY

K.K. BESOI

Śilpaśāstras are treatises on Hindu architecture and sculpture dealing with the procedures to be adopted in the construction of temples for gods and goddesses and houses for human beings. History of architecture can be traced back to a period not later than that of the vedas. We find architectural terms mentioned in the literature covering a wide range from the vedas down to the Kāvyas and Nāṭakas.

The master builders of ancient India orally transmitted their knowledge to pupils and not by writing. Under the guidance of their preceptor the pupils had to undergo practical training. The śilpins had to record such information as required for memorising the important points.

In fact, numerous treatises on architecture, sculptures etc which are popularly known as Śilpaśāstras, are available in India. But these treatises hardly come to the notice of the scholars. There are about thirty two texts according to some scholars and according to others about sixty four standard treatises have now been known. Amongst sixty four Śilpaśāstra treatises about thirty two are called the *mukhya* or principal śāstras and the rest are known as upa-sastra or the secondary.[1]

As regard sources of the Śilpaśāstras, it may be mentioned that the Āgamas of Southern India mostly dealing with Śiva also deals with matters of technical nature which are not available in Puranas. The recognised Āgamas are twenty eight in number. Some Āgamas deal with architectural matters in

detail and *Kāmikāgama* is one of those Śaivāgamas which may be assigned to c. 5th century A.D.[2]

The Jaina and the Buddhists contributed greatly to the field of Brahmanical art traditions as known from the study of these Śilpaśāstras. Śilpa texts, both the Buddhistic as well as the Brahmanical and even a few Jain texts, have now been found in different collections. Some translated versions of the Sanskrit texts are now preserved in the Tibetan compilation Bstan hygur.[3] A versatile scholar Dr. B. Laufer had brought out a critical edition of the Tibetan version of *citralakṣaṇam.*

Śilpa manuscripts in Sanskrit have also been found in Nepal. Moreover, some Śilpa texts of Buddhistic nature are known to have been preserved in Cylone. The *Buddha Pratimā Lakṣaṇam* is preserved in Chinese version. Thus, we find three versions of Śilpa texts, viz., the original Sanskrit text the Chinese version of them as well as the Tibetan which contribute greatly for a comparative study.

The Śilpaśāstras are generally found to have been incorporated in one of the *upa-vedas*, the *Arthaśāstra*. But there is hardly any authority known so far to have included art, architecture, sculpture etc. into the science of polity, the *Arthaśāstra*. Rather, the Śilpaśāstras have been considered to be Vedic *upāṅgas.*

Thus the beginning of the Vāstuśāstras and the Śilpaśāstras are traceable to the Vedantic *Jyotiṣa, Sulva Sutras* on one hand and to the Tantric *yantras* and *maṇḍala* etc. on the other.

The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya deals with town planning, the construction of residential buildings and fort, especially the military architecture in seven chapters. The said work of Kauṭilya is generally attributed to about 3rd century B.C.[4]

The *Śukranīti* or the text book on politics written by Sukra which may be anterior to *Matsya Purāṇa*, mentions Śukrācārya as one of the eighteen authorities on architecture and the author of *Vāstuśāstropadeśaka.*[5]

In his Bṛhatsaṁhitā the famous astrologer Varāhamihira has devoted five chapters dealing with architecture as well as sculpture. He has mentioned seven authorities on architecture, namely, Maya, Viśvakarmā, Garga, Manu, Nagnajit, Vasiṣtha and Bhāskara.[6] Besides the Brahmanic and the Buddhist

literary texts dealing with the Śilpaśāstras, the Purāṇas also refer to architecture and sculptures in great details.

Out of the eighteen Purāṇas, nine deals with art and architecture exclusively but information regarding *Vāstu, Śilpa* and *Citra* are to be found especially in the Purāṇas namely, the Agni, the *Matsya* and the *Viṣṇudharmottara*.

The *Matsya Purāṇa* enumerates the names of eighteen ancient teachers of architecture namely, 1. Bhṛgu, 2. Atri, 3. Vasiṣṭha, 4. Viśvakarman, 5. Maya, 6. Nārada, 7. Nagnajit, 8. Viśālakṣya, 9. Indra, 10. Brahmā, 11. Svāmikarttika, 12. Nandiśvara, 13. Śaunaka, 14. Garga, 15. Śrīkṛṣṇa, 16. Aniruddha, 17. Śukra and 18. Bṛhaspati[7].

Like all other sutras, Hindu architecture and sculpture also claim divine authorship. Viśvakarman is a divine architect and sage. Another mythical engineer was Maya. He was well known for his wonderful construction of the council hall of the epic king Yudhiṣhira as known from the *Mahābhārata*. Several works in Sanskrit on the subject of Hindu architecture and sculpture have been attributed to these heavenly architects.

It is not out of place to mention the same of another versatile architect called Maṇḍana. He was known to be a prolific writer of treatises on architecture and sculpture called the *Śilpaśāstra* (sculptural art), the *Vāstuśāstra* (architecture). He utilised the resources of both southern and northern India and seemed to have followed *Garuḍa Purāṇa, Matsya Purāṇa, Padma Purāṇa, Skanda Purāṇa* and *Brahma Purāṇa* while writing the treatises. The theories of Maṇḍana were followed by the Śilpins of Orissa. It is clear from the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple inscription wherein it is mentioned as follows :

अपि तुहिनधरं जहास देवद्वयमण्डनं गर्भगह्वरश्रीः ॥[8]

Orissa is rich in palm leaf manuscripts, a number of which are lying scattered in villages, in private collections, Maṭhas, temples and various institutions. From a survey it is found that a large number of palm leaf manuscripts are now preserved in the collection of the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, in the universities of Utkal, Berhampur and Sambalpur in the Emar-Maṭha and Baḍa-Oḍiyā Maṭha at Puri, Banchanidhi Pāṭhagār at Nayagarh in the Puri district and in the Oriya Department of the Visva-

Bharati in West Bengal. In almost all the villages of Orissa, we find palm leaf manuscripts in the houses of the traditional families.

We find manuscripts in palm leaves, paper, birch bark, the leaves called *Kumbhī-paṭukā* and these are incised with the different regional scripts of Nāgarī, Oriya, Grantha-lipi, Telugu, Bengali, Tamil and Napalese etc. Languages used are generally found to be Sanskrit and the various neo-Indian languages.

About sixty thousand manuscripts are preserved in the collection of the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, out of which about forty six exclusively deal with Śilpaśāstras. Most of these manuscripts are named as Śilpaśāstra, others being known as *Śilpasamasyā, Śilpa-lakṣaṇam, Gṛha-karṇṇika, Kīrtti-Sudhānidhi* etc. The name of the authors are Viśvakarmā, Bāuri Mahāraṇā, Kṛṣṇa Mahāraṇā, Gopinātha etc. Scripts used in some of the manuscripts are Oriya, the language being Sanskrit and some are both in Oriya language and Sanskrit. The writings are either in prose or in verse.

Generally the Śilpa manuscripts are known to have dealt with construction of temples and houses. But, interestingly enough in the collection at Orissa State Museum we rarely come across a manuscript on temple architecture whereas works on construction of houses and mandapas are frequently met with.

It is to be noted here that five copies of palm leaf manuscripts called *Bhuvana-Pradīpa*, dealing with the construction of temples are now known to be available with Sri Rama Maharana and Babaji Maharana of Puri, Surya Maharana of Lalitagiri in the Cuttack district, Bairagi Maharana of Bhubaneswar and Dharma Maharana of Puri. Another manuscript namely *Śilpi-Pothi* is known to be available with Sri Nilakantha Maharana of Puri.

Four copies of palmleaf manuscripts namely *Śilpa-Prakāśa* of Rāmacandra Kaulācāra was collected by late Sadasiva Rathasarma of Puri from Orissa and Andhra Pradesh. The late Pandit Rathasarma and the late Alice Boner edited the manuscripts with translation and annotation which has been published in the name of *Śilpa-Prakāśa.*[10] The treatise is on temple architecture. Description of a particular type of Tantric temple given by the author of the treatise is to be noticed in it. The selection of a particular site, for the construction of the temple, testing the soil of the site, construction of different parts of the temple and its ornamentation, ceremonies after installing

the sacred deities and at the end the author's epilogue and colophon of the scribe can be noticed in the said manuscripts.

In this context, it may be noticed here that we do not have the occasion to examine the original manuscript mentioned above. But it appears from the two palm leaves printed in the Plate 1 as well as on the cover folder of the said treatise that the scripts used in the manuscripts are modern alphabets and cannot be attributed to the last part of the 18th century A.D. as mentioned in the colophon. This is determined on the basis of the development of scripts and philological point of view.

The *Śilpa* manuscripts dealing with construction of houses contain general matters regarding the classification of soil, chapter on augury, determination of the Nāga's position, astrological consideration, auspicious ceremonies and other matters such as regarding the position of the trees, disposition of the waste water in the neighbourhood of the dwelling house, pertaining to the owner, priest, professor, ceremonial inauguration and entry into the house etc.

The *Śilpa* manuscripts dealing with construction of temples contain, different categories of temples, general apportionment of different parts of the temple, thickness of the temple walls, construction of interior, corbelled arch above the lintel, construction of pedestals, the *pāga* and *dhāra* measurements and description of *dvāras, toraṇas, stambhas,* Navagrahas etc.

The details of a *Śilpaśāstra* written by Bāuri Mahāraṇā[11] are as given below :

In the introductory part of the manuscript the author, after his invocation to lord Gaṇeśa, states his intention of writing the *Vāstu-vidyā* in the following verse :

वास्तुलक्षणमाख्यामि यस्य लक्षणमुत्तमत्त ।
देवासुरमनुष्याणां शुभकर्माणि कारयेत् ॥

The soil is the first essential element to be considered for the construction of a house or a temple. The author has classified the soil into four categories and the nature of each category is as follows :

ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियवैश्यशुद्रा भूमिश्चतुर्विधा ।
शुक्लारक्ता तथा पिता कृष्णा कर्ण्ण इति कर्मात् ॥

x x x x x

अजागन्धा ब्रह्मभूमि रजोगन्धा च क्षत्रिया ।
क्षारगन्धा भवेद् वैश्या शुद्रा पुरिषगन्धजा ॥

x x x x x

कषाया ब्राह्मणभूमिरम्ला च क्षत्रिया तथा ।
वैश्याख्याता तथा तिक्ता मधुरा शुद्रजातिका ॥

A pit is to be dug on the ground and a lighted lamp be placed in order to determine the luck of the construction site which has been enumerated in the manuscript in the following manner :

श्रीदा दीपशिखा धूमवृद्धि प्राचीगदा भवेत् ।
आग्नेये वेश्नेदाहः सस्यदपान्ये मृत्यु न संशयः ॥
नेॠते न भवेद्दुःखः वारुण्ये धननाशनं ॥
वायव्ये व्याधिपीडास्युदुत्तरस्य च सम्पदः ॥
एशान्ये सुखवृद्धिः स्यादित्या सौभाग्यनिर्ण्यः ॥

In the manuscript the author has elaborated the classification of building sites and signs and indications during the ceremony of laying the foundation stone for a building. The classification has been made according to the auspicious and inauspicious signs occurring during the time of the said ceremony. The following verses would show how the classifications are being made :

ध्वजवस्त्रपताकादि दर्शन धनसम्भवः ।
पूर्ण्णकुम्भे भवेत् वित्तं प्राप्नोन्ति कनकादिकम् ॥
शत्रुक्षय काव्यघोषे देवघोषे भवेच्छुभं ।
ज्योतिषशास्त्र कथाया तु वर्द्धतो गृहिधनं ॥

x x x x x

सूत्रे वस्तीर्यमाणो तु पन्नगो यदि दृश्यते ।
अचिरेणैव कालेन सर्पेण निहतो ध्रुवम् ॥

The author has also determined the Nāga's position in the said work. According to the scholars and experts in the *Śilpa-śāstra*, a great Nāga or serpent lies encircling every building site. The body of the Nāga is divided into portions (namely, head, heart, stomach, naval, anus, knee, skin, ankle and tail). The serpent moves in a clock-wise direction. It is required that auspicious pillars should be posted at particular points of the Nāga's body in order to ensure good luck. The doors should also be fixed in accordance with the position of the imaginary body of the Nāga.

The author has also mentioned in his treatise the good and bad effects of constructing the building during different months of the year.

वैशाखे धनरत्नादि ज्येष्ठे मृत्युर्विनिः शिषेत् ।
आषाढे धनलाभं च पशुवृद्धिमवापन्यात् ॥
श्रावणे भूमिलाभः स्यनद्धानि भाद्रपदे तथा ।
पत्नीनाशश्वाश्विने च बहुभार्या च कार्त्तिके ॥
मार्गशीर्षे धनव्याप्तिः पौषे चौरभयं तथा ।
अशुभं च भयंविद्यावाग्निर्माघे विनिद्धिशेत् ॥
फाल्गुने काञ्चनं पुत्रं चैत्रे च शोकवान् भवेत् ।

The good and bad effects of initiating the construction of the building during the bright and dark fortnights of a particular month and during different phases of the moon have also been elaborated in the above mentioned work. He has also dealt with the *Ravi-śuddhi*, influence of the zodiacal signs, influence of the constellations, different bandhas and their effects.

The author has dealt with the digging of ponds near the constructed house, the direction in which the pond to be dug, the auspicious and inauspicious signs of the position of the water near the house etc. In this work he has referred to the raising of flowering plants and plantation of other trees including fruit-bearing trees near the building. The following verses give such description :

ऐशान्ये रक्तपुष्पं च आग्नेये क्षीरपापादपं ।
नैऋते कण्टकं चैव वायव्ये शाल्मली तथा ॥

x x x x x

यत्रतत्र स्थिता वृक्ष विल्वडाडिम्ब केशराः ।
पनसो नारिकेलं च शुभं कुर्वन्ति नित्यशं ॥

Thus we see that the palm leaf manuscripts found in the collection of the Orissa State Museum mainly deal with construction of houses and its relation with selection of site etc. We have not yet come across any such manuscript, in their original forms, dealing with the temple architecture. But we hope, we may come across such manuscripts in future which may enlighten us more on the subject of Orissan temple architecture.

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THE CHRONICLES AND THE TEMPLE RECORDS OF THE MĀDALĀ PĀÑJI OF PURI— A REASSESSMENT OF THE EVIDENCE*

HERMANN KULKE

Apart from the date of Khāravela, Orissa's first great emperor in the late first (or mid second ?) century B.C., the Mādalā Pāñji, its nature, date and historicity still seem to be the most controversial issue of Orissan historiography. Ever since the epigraphist J.F. Fleet has written his scornful verdict in the year 1895 against the Mādalā Pañji that "everthing relating to ancient times, which has been written on the unsupported authority of these annals, has to be expunged bodily from the pages of history".[1] Historians, particularly in Orissa, have fallen apart into two parties feuding with one another about the date and historicity of these chronicles.

R.P. Chanda's attempt to analyse systematically for the first time various versions of the temple chronicle in 1926/1927[2] and A.B. Mahanti's edition of three versions in the year 1940[3] certainly led to a more scientific and critical evaluation of Puri's chronicles.[4] A.B. Mahanti's totally uncritical edition, however had two serious repercussions, too. Firstly, his unscientific editorial work seems to have confirmed the assumption that the chronicles (at least those published by him) have been written if not partly "fabricated" in the late 19th or even early 20th centuries. Secondly, the title "Mādalā Pāñji—

* The present paper is the outcome of a research project jointly sponsored by the German Research Council, Bonn, and the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, and it is based on material collected by the former Orissa Research Project during its research on the cult of Jagannātha (see note 27). The present article forms an abridged version of a part of the introduction to the critical edition of the *Kaṭakarājavaṁśāvalī* prepared by Dr. G.C. Tripathi and this author (see note 18). The author acknowledges gratefully the help he received from Dr. G.C. Tripathi, the late Sri Kedarnath Mahapatra, Dr. Satyanarayan Rajaguru, Dr. G.N. Dash and Dr. S.K. Panda.

Rājabhoga Itihāsa" under which he published the chronicles seem to have finally led to the equation of these chronicles with the Mādalā Pāñji. Both assumptions, however, are equally wrong. Neither have the chronicles been "rewritten" in the 19th century in a sinister conspiracy of the Karaṇas and the Rājās of Puri, nor is the Mādalā Pāñji identical with these chronicles.

As regards the first point, the assumption that the Mādalā Pāñji as a whole or parts of it are a "product" of the middle or even late 19th century, it can easily be shown that this suspicion is totally unfounded. This assumption is mainly based on alleged increase of the total number of Keśari kings who, according to the chronicles of Puri, ruled over Orissa from the 5th to the early 12th centuries. To K.C. Panigrahi we owe several important contributions to Mādalā Pāñji studies, who summarized this assumption in his latest work : "The Keśari dynasty, the biggest of all ruling dynasties described by the Pāñji, provides the best example to show how later additions have swollen the size of this chronicle and have at the same time vitiated its originality. In the copy or copies used by Stirling in 1822[5] the total number of Keśari kings was 36. In 1872 when Hunter used the same chronicle (italics by H.K.) for his History of Orissa[6] their total number has increased to forty-four. In 1940 A.B. Mahanti published the Mādalā Pāñji and in this published book the total number of the Keśari kings is found to be sixty-five".[7] The basic mistake of this interpretation is the assumption that all these authors used one and the same chronicle. But as will be shown later, A. Stirling used for his writing on the history of Orissa mainly a Sanskrit version of the chronicle of Puri which was written in the year 1820. This chronicle has reduced the existing previously known number of 44 Keśari kings to the number 36. The only two manuscripts of this Sanskrit chronicle, however, were soon included into the Mackenzie Collection at Madras and London, and thus disappeared from the scene till very recently when the Madras manuscript was published by K.C. Mishra.[8] In his History of Orissa (1872) W.W. Hunter used instead the Bengali rendering[9] of an Oriya chronicle of Puri which still stuck to the older system of numbering 44 Keśari kings. In 1940 A.B. Mahanti published two Oriya versions of the chronicle and one more royal genealogy. All these three Oriya texts belong to the same old tradition which speaks of 44 generations of Keśari kings. But the names of these 44 generations of Keśaris do not tally in these three manuscripts. Within one and the same generation there are

sometimes two or three different names in these three manuscripts. For the sake of the readers A.B. Mahanti puts a list of all these Keśari names at the beginning of his publication. But he made the irremissible mistake to number these kings from 1 to 65 as if they ruled one after the other. But it is equally unintelligible that this mistake has not been realized earlier. But it is clear that this misleading list and the non-availability of the Sanskrit text of the year 1820-21 used by A. Stirling created this misunderstanding which for decades, impaired the discussions about the Mādalā Pāñji and its chronicles. The constantly changing names of the Keśari kings in these chronicles certainly throw a bad light on the historicity of these chronicles, at least in regard to the earlier periods of Orissan history. Nevertheless, this argument should not be misused as a proof for a conspiracy of the priests and Rājās of Puri to manipulate the chronicles of Puri for their own vested interest.

As has already been pointed out by R.P. Chanda and others,[10] the compilation of Puri's chronicles began around 1600 A.D., soon after the re-establishment of the Jagannātha cult and the foundation of the Bhoi dynasty of Khurda under Rāmacandra I as local successors to the erstwhile imperial Gajapati kings of Orissa. The beginning of Orissa's historical writing was thus directly linked with the reconstruction of Orissa's holy tradition of Jagannātha, the "Lord of the World" and his earthly deputy, the Gajapati or "Lord of the Elephants". This backbone of Orissa's regional tradition had been violently interrupted in 1568 A.D. by the destruction of the holy images and the death of the last Gajapati.

The different versions of the chronicle and royal genealogy were maintained by the Deula Karaṇa and Taḍhau Karaṇa of the Jagannātha temple and in the Puri palace of the Rājās of Khurda[11]. But neither was the contents of these different versions of the chronicle identical nor were they written with the same accuracy. A study of the available versions seem to indicate that sometimes their writing was done rather irregularly. But it also seems to be equally clear that whenever the cult had again been interrupted (e.g. in the early 17th century and around 1700 A.D. under Aurangzeb) these chronicles were again properly maintained, as if it became again a question of "reconfirmation" of Puri's tradition. This rhythm of irregular writing of the chronicles as well as their maintenance in different Karaṇa families may help to explain some of the inconsistencies in Puri's chronicles.[12]

The imbalance of maintenance and writing of these chronicles increased considerably during the first two decades after the conquest of Orissa by the East India Company in 1803. As the Company initially for a few years took over even the direct administration of the Jagannātha temple, two Collectors at Puri, Grome and Webb,[13] were requested to submit each a comprehensive report about the Jagannātha cult which they submitted in 1805 and 1807 respectively. In their search for all kinds of information about the property, administration and the rituals of the Jagannātha temple, chronicles and other records of the temple were consulted by these British officers and their local assistants.[14] During these years the priestly administrators and Karaṇas of Puri and few years later the Rājā of Puri seem to have become aware of the importance of their own records and chronicles *vis-a-vis* their new foreign rulers.

But the major impact of early British administration on Puri's historical writing came only a few years later when Colonel Colin Mackenzie in the wake of his unique survery of the Madras Presidency sent his pandits to Puri in search for manuscripts and documents about the Jagannātha cult which played an important role in life of the people of the northern parts of Madras Presidency. The pandits collected and got copied Sanskrit and Oriya *Māhātmyas* and chronciles and had a large number of texts translated into Telugu,[15] it seems most likely because of the impact of the Jagannātha cult in the Telugu speaking region bordering on Orissa in the South. Most important, however, was that Mackenzis's pandits may even have induced or arranged the composition of a new Sanskrit chronicle, in fact, the only Sanskrit chronicle so far known in Puri. The two manuscripts which exist of this chronicle were once part of the Mackenzie Collection.[16] One manuscript still belongs to this collection at Madras and was recently published under the title *Oḍradeśa Rājavaṁśāvalī*.[17] This manuscript however, does contain several mistakes and big lacunae (e.g. from the middle of the Gaṅga dynasty up to Puruṣottama, the second ruler of the Sūryavaṁśa). The second manuscript is known under the name *Kaṭakarājavaṁśāvalī* and belongs now to the India Office Library. It is in an excellent condition and is at present being edited by G.C. Tripathi and the author.[18]

The Sanskrit chronicle has several important peculiarities. First, it is clearly dated in the colophon by Kaliyuga 4921 = 1820/21 A.D. Furthermore,

in its enumeration of the kings of Orissa it follows very strictly a system of highly symbolical numbers. For instance, Rāmacandra III, the contemporary Rājā of Puri, was the 108th king of Orissa. The author of this chronicle retained the number of 18 Gaṅga kings as known from the earlier Oriya chronicles (historically 15 are known) and reduced accordingly the number of Keśari kings from 44 as given in the earlier Oriya chronicles to the more sacred number of 36. But even more significant is the fact that this Sanskrit chronicle of the year 1820/1821 is the only hitherto available chronicle which does not only mention the actual years of the reign period of the kings or the Oriya *aṅka* system of reckoning but gives also the Śaka years of all kings of Orissa. Although there existed already an earlier but merely genealogical list with Śaka dates written in Oriya,[19] the achievement of the author of the Sanskrit chronicle was considerable. In its systematic organization of the material it has to be regarded as the culmination of traditional historical writing of Orissa. But it leaves out a number of interesting historical details of the 17th and 18th centuries known from other Oriya chronicles and contain at least an interesting disimprovement which however, helps to verify its date of composition.[20]

The years around 1820, however, do not only mark the culmination of traditional historical writing in Orissa but signify the beginning of modern historical writing of Orissa, too. As has already been mentioned, in 1821, A. Stirling published his "Account, Geographical, Statistical and Historical of Orissa Proper, or Cuttack". His introduction to his third chapter on the history contains a list of source material which was used by him. This list is of greatest importance, as for the first time, it throws light on the various versions of chronicles in Orissa. And, as we shall point out soon, it helps us furthermore to distinguish more clearly between Puri's chronicles and the Mādalā Pāñji "proper". Stirling wrote :—

"The sources from which my information has been chiefly derived are : (i) A work in Sanskrit called the Vaṁśāvali, belonging to a learned Brahmin of Puri, said to have been originally composed by some of his ancestors three or four centuries back, and continued down in the family to the present date. (ii) The chapter of the Mandala (*sic*) Pāñji or Records preserved in the temple of Jagannātha, called Rāj Charita or 'Annals of the Kings' in Oriya language, which are stated to have been commenced upon more than six centuries back,

and to have been since regularly kept up. (iii) Another Varhśāvalī or Genealogy written in Sanskrit on leaves of the Palmyra tree, procured from a Brahmin living in the family of the Rāja of Puṭṭiā (Paṭiā) Sarengarh, one of the branches of the royal house of Orissa. Less certain and trust worthy guides than the above, are to be met with in numerous genealogies or *Bansābalī Pothis*, as they are termed, possessed by nearly every Pāñjiā or Almanac maker in the province. They in general abound with errors and inconsistencies, but occasionally a few facts or illustrations may be gleaned from them.[21]

It is possible to identify Stirling's "sources of information" with a high degree of likelihood. An analysis of Stirling's writing and the contents of the presently available chronicles makes it very clear that the Sanskrit Varhsāvalī which he mentioned as his first source was one of the above mentioned Sanskrit chronicles—most probably the more complete one which belongs now to the India Office Library. This hypothesis is further verified by the facts that, firstly these manuscripts are the only hitherto known text of a Sanskrit version which, furthermore, bears the name Varhśāvalī as mentioned by Stirling, too, and, finally by the fact that the two Sanskrit texts have been included into the contemporary Mackenzie Collection. Although nothing definite is yet known about direct links between the manuscripts used by A. Stirling and those which were included into the Mackenzie Collection there is at least one clear evidence of direct relations. As we just saw, Stirling refers to the Temple Records as *Māndalā Pāñji*. This strange spelling of the word Mādalā occurs also as a title of an Oriya manuscript preserved in the Mackenzie Collection : "XIII - *Māndalā Pāñji*, Palm leaves. A portion of the records of the temple of Jagannātha, containing the legend of its first establishment by Indradyumna and the rules prescribed by Brahmā for the ceremonies to be observed there".[22]

As regards Stirling's second source, already in 1927 R.P. Chanda has pointed out that he was unable "to trace the manuscript of the Oriya Rājacharita used by Stirling". But the analysis of Stirling's history makes it likely that he must have used a manuscript which was similar to the first version published by A.B. Mahanti. It is also quite likely that the Rājacharita used by Stirling was one of those Oriya manuscripts which formerly had belonged to the Mackenzie Collection but which in 1938, after the formation

of the Province of Orissa were sent to the Hon. Secretary of the Orissa Academy at Ravenshaw College at Cuttack.[23] Stirling's third source which he had "procured from a Brahmin living in the family of the Rājā of Puṭṭiā Sarengarh" near Cuttack is most probably identical with a Vaṁśāvalī translated by A. Stirling and published posthumously in 1837 by the editor of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.[24] And, finally, the Telugu translation of one of those "less certain and trust-worthy Bansābalī Pothis" which Stirling furthermore might have consulted is still known to be part of the Mackenzie Collection.[25]

It will be matter of further research to find out to what extent the genuine historical interest of A. Stirling, the Secretary to the Commission at Cuttack, was influenced by the search of Mackenzie's pandits for historical records, or whether Stirling himself influenced or even induced Mackenzie's *pandits* to get the new Sanskrit version of the chronicle written down by a Brahmin of Puri who, of course, will have used older Oriya sources "composed by some of his ancestors three or four centuries back and continued down in the family to the present date." A major problem in this regard is the uncertainty about the date of Mackenzie's activities in Orissa. The survey of the Ganjam District which belonged to the Madras Presidency certainly had begun not later than the year 1814 when Mackenzie was still Surveyor General of the Madras Presidency. Several reports of the Mackenzie Collection about the Ganjam District and its Princely States are dated between 1814 and 1816.[26] Less known, however, is the date of arrival of Mackenzie's pandits in Central Orissa and Puri in particular. The earliest known dated text of the Mackenzie Collection which refers to Puri is the above mentioned Telugu translation of an account of the dynasty of Puruṣottamadeva of the year 1814/15 A.D. (Kaliyuga 4915 ; see note 25). But as this text belongs to the "less certain and trustworthy Bansābalī Pothis" (Stirling) which have little in common with Puri's chronicles, it may well have been collected from any other place in Orissa. Of the year 1815, however, exists a large number of drawings in the Mackenzie Collection depicting chiefly sculptures at Jajpur, Bhubaneswar and Puri which were prepared during a "journey from Bengal through the Woodiā & Caliṅga Daum for the Coromandel Coast" from March to September 1815.[27] And furthermore we know an excellent drawing of the "procession at the Temple

Jagannātha in July 1818'[28] which belongs to the Mackenzie Collection, too. All this points to an increasing interest of Mackenzie in Puri and its Jagannātha cult from 1814/15 onwards. But of decisive importance seems to have been the year 1820, just one year before Mackenzie died. Due to his already badly weakened health Mackenzie spent more than four months in Puri (22 May to 18 October, 1820). But "he was of no means idle, and kept in touch with surveyors in all part of India", got texts translated, travelled to Bhubaneswar and Konarak and was in continuous contact with Benjamin Buxton, Surveyor at Cuttack and a gifted draftsman.[29] It is quite revealing that all the ten drawings of the year 1820 which belong to the Mackenzie Collection are dated between 29 May to 13 September 1820,[30] a period which coincides exactly with Mackenzie's stay at Puri. Whether all this certainly still incomplete evidence about the culmination of Mackenzie's activities in Puri in the year 1820 suffices to infer that the important Sanskrit chronicle of the year 1820/21, too, was composed under the influence or even by order of Mackenzie is difficult to decide. But according to the evidence which is now at our disposal this possibility cannot be ruled out completely.

Whatever may be the truth, it is certain that A. Stirling was on the spot since October 10, 1817, shortly after Mackenzie finally had arrived at Calcutta (18 August, 1817) as Surveyor General of India, a post to which he had already been appointed in 1815. Whereas Mackenzie's interest in Central Orissa and Puri certainly increased after his transfer to Calcutta,[31] Stirling seems to have begun his study of the history soon after his arrival at Cuttack. Already on October 25, 1821, his comprehensive "Minute" on the land system in Orissa and its historical background was printed. While preparing this Minute, Stirling seems to have had not yet access to the Sanskrit chronicle of the year 1820/21[32] which became the major source of his history of Orissa which he completed in the year 1822. The question as to whether Mackenzie or Stirling directly or indirectly had influenced a Brahmin in Puri to compose the "new Sanskrit chronicle therefore still remains a matter of further research and depends on the discovery of new material. But already now it seems to be evident that Mackenzie's devotion or even obsession to collect historical documents and Stirling's deep interest in the history of Orissa must have had a deep impact on the contemporary counterparts at Puri.[33] This impact seems to have led to a stronger awareness of their

historical tradition and, at least in the case of the author of the Sanskrit Vaṁśāvalīs, to an attempt to systematize this tradition. This systematization, however, was still done according to indigenous and Brahmanical standards and norms, and was based solely on local material. It was thus neither "fabricated" under direct British influence (as were certainly later attempts of historical writing of Feudatory States of Orissa) nor was it influenced by European ideas of history. This conclusion will become even more evident when we turn our attention to the Temple Records of Puri, the "veritable" Mādalā Pāñji.

While conducting research on the Jagannātha cult, the former Orissa Research Project[34] was able to purchase on 24 December, 1970, a collection of about 15,000 palm-leaves from R.K. Samantaray, the Deula Karaṇa of Puri. On 8 February, 1971 the Project informed the Government of Orissa about this acquisition and the intention of the Project to utilize this collection for research and to donate it then to an institution suggested by the Government of Orissa. On 13 February, R.K. Rath, IAS, Secretary, Cultural Affairs Department, in a letter suggested to make over these manuscripts to the Orissa State Museum. The Orissa Research Project soon engaged copyists who copied about one fourth of the whole collection during the next twelve months. On 10 March, 1972, however, the Vigilance Police seized the whole collection as the Deula Karaṇa was accused for not having been allowed to sell these manuscripts. But on 12 August 1974 the whole collection was returned to the Orissa Research Project which then, as previously agreed upon, handed it over to the Orissa State Museum in a formal function presided over by Mr. Jadunath Das Mahapatra, Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Government of Orissa.

During these years most probably none of those scholars and institutions which came into contact with the vast collection of manuscripts had a clear idea of the nature of these large bundles of palm leaves. The Orissa Research Project had purchased it in the belief and on the assurance of the Deula Karaṇa that it formed the Mādalā Pāñji or contained at least substantial portions of it. But soon it turned out that it was a "mere" collection of mostly rather recent temple records of the 19th and 20th centuries. During these years it seems to have become more and more evident (and this is still the prevailing assumption in Orissa) that these temple records have little or

nothing to do with the Mādalā Pāñji which seems to be unanimously identified with the above mentioned temple chronicles. As this was obviously not the case even rumours were spread that these manuscripts have only recently been "fabricated".

But more recent research conducted on the basis of those copies taken in the year 1971-1972 gave a very different and much more differentiated picture of the temple records. It became evident soon that they pertained to a vast range of subjects, e.g. accounts of daily donations to the temple, landed and other property of the temple and maṭhas of Puri, investiture (*śāḍhī bandha*) of priests (*sevaka*) and mahants, ritual regulations and royal letters (*chāmu ciṭau*) or orders (*talapa, hukuma*) by the Rājā of Puri granting special privileges of feudatory chiefs and Rajas during their visits to the Jagannātha temple. Although quite a large number of these records belonged to the 19th and even early 20th century, an equally large number can be dated to the 18th and few even to the early 17th centuries. There was no doubt that this collection formed a substantial part of the temple records of Puri which had been regularly maintained by the ancestors of the present Deula Karaṇa at least since the early 18th century after the renewal of the Jagannātha cult.

In 1978, the late Kedarnath Mahapatra, author of the *Khurdhā Itihāsa*[35] and former Curator of Manuscripts of the Orissa State Museum, and the present author began a systematic study of the royal letters (*chāmu ciṭau*). This author remembers well the sheer enthusiasm of Sri Kedarnath Mahapatra about the discovery of roughly 80 such royal letters from the 17th to the early 20th centuries granting privileges to members of about 30 princely and royal families in Orissa and North India.[36] But there are other historical documents, too, particularly in regard to the Maratha rule in Orissa and their relation to the Jagannātha cult. K.N. Mahapatra was particularly excited when he discovered the original of an important document about which his esteemed teacher Paramananda Acharya long ago had published an article under the title "An Oriya letter from the Mādalā Pāñji relating to Raghuji Bhonsla's march to Orissa and Bengal in 1743 A.D."[37] P. Acharya, however, had written this article only on the basis of a (as we now know) rather poor copy of this document which had been procured from the Deula Karaṇa at Puri by a pandit of the ex-Feudatory State of Baramba. As the date had not been copied out correctly, K.N. Mahapatra was now able to date this

in road of the Marathas to 16th March, 1745. There are other interesting details to be found in the original which were missing in the copy available to P. Acharya. Only in the original it is stated that Raghuji and Mir Habib entered Orissa with 200,000 horse soldiers (*dui lakṣya*) and that the priests at Puri were requested to continue to "serve the Great Lord (Jagannātha) like the debtor is serving the creditor without fear" (*tumbhemāne kichi kathāku bicāra na kari khātaka jamā boin parameśvaraṅku sebā kari thiba*).[38] Another long document reports about an event which was completely unknown. It relates the fantastic story of Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa Deva, Rājā of Parlakhemundi, who entered Puri during the car festival (*ratha yātrā*) in 1753 on his royal elephant in the company of 2,000 men. He managed to capture by force the Nandighoṣa car of Lord Jagannātha in order to perform the Gajapati *Sevā* and thus to claim the Gajapati Kingship for himself. The document nicely describes how the priests of Puri boycotted him tacitly for several days so that he finally had to come to a compromise with Mohana Singh, the able Maratha general who was present at Puri. So far it has only been known (mainly from the first chronicle published by A.B. Mahanti) that Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa, in his attempt to seize the Gajapati kingship, attacked Khurda by an army in the year 1760 and that he was driven out by the Marathas on request of the Khurda Rājā. It is still unclear how to correlate these two events. The first "visit" to Puri might have just been a prelude to Nārāyaṇa's attempt to capture the Gajapati kingship by force. But it is also possible that both reports refer to one and the same event. In this case it might be important that the temple records contain two separate and independently kept palm-leaves which report nearly identically about this event. Another document of the temple records shows that already in 1768 the Marathas under its Governor Sambhuji Ganesa had taken over themselves completely the Gajapati *sevā* during the *yātrā*, thus more or less ousting Vīnakeśari Deva, the Khurda Rājā, from his privileged position in the Jagannātha cult. But another document shows that the Governor Rājārāma Paṇḍita reinstalled him again officially on the throne in 1780. None of these important facts have so far been known from other sources.[39] K.N. Mahapatra was certainly the first scholar to realize the genuineness of these documents and their immense value for the history of Orissa under Moghul and particularly Maratha rule.

Further comparative research on the temple records and the chronicles was conducted in collaboration with G.C. Tripathi (Allahabad), G.N. Dash

(Berhampur) and S.K. Panda (Sambalpur) in a joint project sponsored by the German Research Council and the Indian Council of Historical Research. This research led to the final conclusion that the temple records which had been purchased from the Deula Karaṇa of Puri and which are now in the custody of the Orissan State Museum are indeed the genuine Mādalā Pāñji.

The "discovery", however, is by no means completely new. Already the early British administrators had a clear knowledge of the existence and very nature of the temple records. The first clear referene to the Mādalā Pāñji came from William Trower, Collector at Puri, who was fighting against the alleged presumptuousness of Mukunda Deva, the Rājā of Puri, who had recently been reinstalled as Superintendent of the Jagannātha Temple. In a letter to J. Richardson, Member on deputation of the Board of Revenue at Cuttack, he complained on March 18, 1814 : "The Rājāh of Khoordah on all occasions where he wishes to give trouble quotes, 'Mādlā Pānjee' or record of the temple, but whenever his interest is concerned to forget them, they are not mentioned. The Mādla Pāñjee are properly speaking a set of rules for the duties to be performed to the idol by the priests and Shewaks (*sevakas*) and have nothing to do with the visits of the pilgrims. In ancient times it was customary to enter on the records of the temple the day and the year on which any of the neighbouring Rājās visited the idol and the mode in which he did it, but I am informed by the Purchas (*parichās*) that this has long been discontinued and has nothing to do with the rules to be observed. These records are also known by the name of Mādlā Pāñjee, as well as every order issued by the existing Government. Regulations of the British Government relating to the temple are Mādlā Pāñjee and the Rājāh wishes every order issued by himself to be considered the same".[40]

William Trower, the Collector at Puri, thus clearly identified the "Mādlā Pāñjee" as the whole corpus of Puri's temple records. From his description it is very evident that Trower referred to a corpus of temple records of exactly the same nature as we know it. Meanwhile, from the collection which the Orissa Research Project had purchased from the Deula Karaṇa in 1970, what Trower seems to have regarded as presumption of Rājā Mukunda Deva ("the Rājāh wishes every orders issued by himself to be considered as the same", viz., the Mādalā Pāñji) was in fact a very clear description of the long established practice and rights of the Rājās of Puri as we are now able to

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